EXPLORING UGANDAN CULTURAL MODEL OF WORK THROUGH INTERVIEWS WITH UGANDAN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

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By

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ABSTRACT

The problem of chronic unemployment and low wages among immigrants in Canada is widely discussed in academia and official reports. Culture, as one of the factors proposed to account for the existing employment and wage gaps between immigrants and Canadian-born population, remains poorly understood. The current study contributes to the understanding of this factor by applying a theory of cultural models to explore Ugandan cultural model of work through interviews with Ugandan immigrants in Canada. The researcher adopted an outsider-to-insider position and employed person-centered interviewing to generate data. Linguistic analysis of keywords, metaphors, reasoning, and descriptions of behaviors was used to uncover the public aspect of the cultural model of work in Uganda. Results of the study suggest that the cultural model of work in Uganda has a tri-dimensional structure, with vertical and horizontal dimensions reflecting relationships based on hierarchy, and a third dimension reflecting relationships based on belonging to a group. The model's terminal values of power, authority, and respect and dominant feelings of fear and belongingness serve as major motivating factors at the workplace. Results of the study are discussed in the context of immigrant integration into the Canadian labour market. Strengths and weaknesses of employed theory and methodology are discussed and recommendations for the theory development are given. In addition, comparative analysis of Canadian and Ugandan cultural models of work is recommended to inform the problem of immigrant unemployment and low wages among immigrants in Canada.

Keywords: Uganda, employment, cultural model of work, theory of cultural models, immigrants, Canada

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

The value of immigrants for Canada has been widely recognized at all levels of the society: not only do they bring unique professional skills and experiences, they also enrich the culture of Canadian workplaces and communities (Berry, 2013; CIC News, 2014; RBC Economics Research, 2011). However, despite their importance, immigrants, especially those from visible minority groups, still face multiple employment barriers that hinder their economic integration and result in the employment and wage gaps between them and the Canadian-born population (Alexander, Burleton, & Fong, 2012; Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015; Picot & Sweetman, 2005).

The current study explores the role of culture, as one of the factors contributing to this problem. The study is based on a hypothesis that, at the workplace, both immigrants and their Canadian-born colleagues rely on their respective cultural views of work. Differences, or a mismatch between these cultural views create a barrier to effective cooperation and communication and subsequently hinder immigrants' integration into the Canadian workplace. In order to fully address the influence of culture and to ensure effective cross-cultural communication and interaction at the workplace, researches need to 1) describe the cultural views of work of different groups of immigrants and of Canadians, 2) compare Canadian and immigrant cultural views of work and to locate differences and similarities, and 3) develop interventions to help people navigate through potential differences.

Due to its limited scope and lack of socio-psychological research on this topic, the current study focuses on the first step in the strategy outlined above. That is, it explores the cultural view of work of one immigrant group by applying a theory of cultural models. The theory and corresponding methodology are tested on a case of Ugandan cultural model of work, which is explored through interviews with Ugandan immigrants in Canada. The study results in a hypothesis of Ugandan cultural model of work, which requires further exploration and confirmation. Due to its scope, the study has several limitations, which are discussed in Chapter 5.4.

1.1. The Problem of Immigrant Employment in Canada

Canada's economic growth largely depends on a stable flow and successful adaptation of *immigrants*[1], who account for one-fifth of its population and have been a sole source of its labour force growth since 2012 (Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015). Several immigration programs exist to attract immigrant workforce; and, once the newcomers[2] arrive, they have access to a variety of settlement services and programs designed to ease the process of their integration into the Canadian labour market (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013).

However, despite Canada's demand for foreign workers, careful selection of future immigrants, and the existence of settlement programs that facilitate their adaptation to the Canadian society, immigrants remain chronically *un-* and *under-employed* and underpaid, compared to their Canadian-born counterparts (Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015).

This gap in *employment* and income exists not only between the newcomers and Canadian-born population but also within the immigrant community itself. Namely, immigrants from *visible minority* groups tend to have lower income and employment rates than those from non-visible minority groups (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2009).

To illustrate, even when controlled for education and age, first generation visible minority immigrants earn only 68.7% of what immigrants from non-visible minority groups earn (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Moreover, not only do these immigrants earn less, their earnings actually declined over time by 0.2% even before the recession in 2008 (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Not surprisingly then, individuals who are visible minorities also happen to constitute 71% of all people living in poverty; and 90% of them are first generation immigrants, with an average yearly income of $7,800 (National Council of Welfare, 2012).

In Canada, the largest visible minority groups are South Asians (25%), Chinese (24%), Blacks (15%), Filipinos (9%), and Latin Americans (7%) (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2009). Among visible minorities, the least economically successful group

[1] Terms in italics are defined in the Appendix A.
[2] Newcomer is a term used in academia to refer to all permanent resident immigrants; it is considered to soften the existing stigma around the words 'immigrant' or 'refugee'.

are Blacks, which is a typical term used by government officials and scholars to refer to individuals of African[3] and Caribbean origins (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Yssaad, 2012). More than a half of all Blacks living in Canada are immigrants, and their proportion is growing every year due to an increase in the number of newcomers arriving from Africa (Statistics Canada, 2013).

1.1.1. African immigrants in Canada

In 2011, Africa became the 2nd largest source of immigrants after Asia, accounting for 13.6% of all newcomers, compared to only 1.5% in 1961 (Statistics Canada, 2014). Many immigrants come from Somalia, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana, and Uganda and settle mostly in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Chagnon, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2013). Majority of them are young (age 25-44) and speak one of Canada's official languages (Statistics Canada, 2013). Notably, refugees constitute a large proportion of African immigrants; for instance, between 2001 and 2007, 22% of all African immigrants came to Canada as refugees (Yssaad, 2012).

In 2011, African-born immigrants accounted for 10% of the labour force, yet, had the lowest employment rate in Canada (70.1%), the highest unemployment rate (12.6%), and the lowest income level regardless of age, education, and experience (Yssaad, 2012). The labour market outcomes were even less favorable among *recent* African immigrants, who were employed at only 55.7% and unemployed at 22.3% (Yssaad, 2012).

According to the 2006 census, 56% of all Blacks in Canada worked at low- and semi-skilled occupations, and only 5% occupied managerial positions. Similarly, Black African-born immigrants tend to be employed in low-skilled, low-paid, unstable, and low-prestige "survival jobs", which subject them to downward occupational mobility and deskilling (Creese & Wiebe, 2012).

In summary, the disadvantaged position of visible minority immigrants, in general, and African immigrants, in particular, reflects the contradiction between the country's need for highly qualified and successfully integrated workers and the actual economic reality of

[3] Because different statistical reports place African-born immigrants into either Black or African categories, I use statistics for both of these groups and use the terms interchangeably. However, not all Blacks are from Africa; for example, over 35% of all Blacks are of Caribbean origin, and over 25% report British, Canadian, and French origins (Statistics Canada, 2013).

immigrants, who are unable to fully contribute to the economy due to under- and unemployment and low wages. This discrepancy constitutes a problem for policy makers, immigrant-serving organizations, social scientists working in the area of immigration, and immigrants themselves; and, as such, it needs to be explored and addressed through research and practical initiatives.

Failure to address this problem by successfully integrating immigrants into the Canadian labour market results in a substantial economic loss for Canada. For instance, if skilled immigrants were working in skill-appropriate positions with equal wages, their cumulative income would have increased by $30.7 billion (RBC Economics Research, 2011). And if the employment gap were closed, Canada's economy would have received income taxes from approximately 370,000 more people and cut the costs of welfare benefits (Alexander et al., 2012).

Apart from negative economic impact, the problem of immigrant un- and underemployment undermines immigrants' socio-psychological well-being, as *work* allows newcomers to build social networks, to feel needed and appreciated, and to gain social status in their new community. Moreover, a stable job in one's area of expertise serves as a basis for building one's identity and feelings of self-worth (Roberman, 2013). Therefore, lack of opportunities for professional realization may curtail individual growth and lead to feelings of inferiority, rejection, and discrimination, thereby hindering the development of a strong Canadian identity and full participation in the new society (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Grant & Nadin, 2007).

In order to address the existing problem of unemployment and low wages among rapidly growing African immigrant population in Canada, researchers and policy makers need to investigate and understand its underlying factors. I will approach this task from the perspective of socio-cultural psychology and focus on culture, as one of the factors exacerbating this problem.

1.2. Factors Affecting Immigrant Employment Outcomes

A number of factors have been proposed to explain the disadvantaged economic position of immigrants in Canada; one group of factors refers to demographic and professional characteristics of the immigrants, while the other group of factors refers to the labour market

condition in the receiving country (Bauder, 2003; Bonikowska, Hou, & Picot, 2015; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2015; Fuller, 2015; Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015; Picot & Sweetman, 2005; Reitz, 2007; Xue, 2008).

Among the labor market conditions that impact the process of immigrant economic integration are bias among employers and settlement service providers, devaluation of foreign credentials and experience, imbalance between the demand and supply of the workforce across provinces, competition with native Canadians and other immigrants, and lack of cultural competencies among employers and newcomers (Bauder, 2003; Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015; Picot & Sweetman, 2005; Reitz, 2007).

Among the demographic and professional characteristics of immigrants that predict immigrant employment success are younger age, higher education, Canadian and foreign skilled work experience, and proficiency in official languages (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2015). That is, immigrants with these entry characteristics are expected to have income and employment rates at par with Canadian-born individuals, especially as the time spent in Canada increases (Bonikowska et al., 2015). Nevertheless, even when the above criteria are satisfied, the gap in earnings and employment rates between visible minority immigrants and non-visible minority immigrants and Canadian-born workers persists (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

Specifically, visible minority immigrants do not usually catch up with the salaries and job positions of their non-visible minority counterparts as the time after immigration increases (Lands & Richelle, 2013; Reitz, 2007); moreover, even Canadian-born visible minorities earn less in the public sector than their White counterparts (Hou & Coulombe, 2009). These disparities indicate that in addition to employment barriers faced by all immigrant groups, visible minorities in Canada face an additional barrier in form of discrimination (Lindsay, 2001b, 2001c; Wilson-Forsberg, 2015).

This barrier appears to be an especially salient for immigrants from African countries (Lindsay, 2001a; Milan & Tran, 2004). These immigrants face discrimination from service providers that channel them into low-skilled jobs and from employers that tend to devalue their work experience and credentials, demand Canadian experience, and refuse to hire or promote

African immigrants because of their accents (Creese & Kambere, 2003; Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Elabor-Idemudia, 1999; Grant & Nadin, 2007).

The finding that visible minority status impacts immigrant employment outcomes is supported by the fact that the employment gap between immigrants and Canadian-born workers widened as the distribution of new immigrants changed from predominantly European in the 1970s to Asian and African starting from 1980s (Statistics Canada, 2013). Furthermore, scholars found the country of origin of immigrants to be one of the most powerful predictors of immigrant earnings as it accounted for 30% of their variance (Picot & Sweetman, 2005). To explain this effect, researchers suggest that, compared to immigrants from Europe, immigrants from more "culturally distant" Asian and African countries experienced more difficulties in adapting to new cultural environments, getting their foreign experience and credentials recognized, and confronted stronger language barriers, and face more discrimination (Picot & Sweetman, 2005; Reitz, 2007).

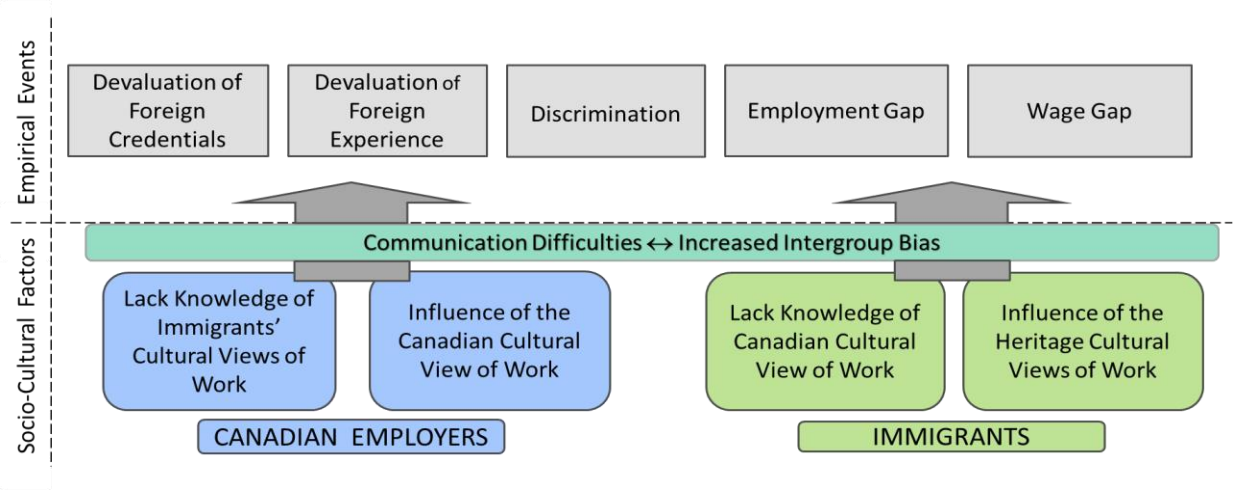
It is noteworthy that, although culture in the form of knowledge, differences, and competencies is mentioned as a barrier by many researchers in the field (e.g. Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015; Picot & Sweetman, 2005), its impact is typically trivialized and minimized. But, from the perspective of socio-cultural psychology, the significant role of culture, in one form or another, is evident in many factors that on the surface may seem unrelated to it. The hypothesis about the role that socio-cultural factors play in immigrant employment is illustrated in Figure 1.1.

If one looks below the surface of the observable events, it becomes clear that culture impacts both the Canadian employers and the newcomers. Because both Canadian employers and newcomers typically lack the knowledge of each other's cultural views of work (Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015), they are forced to rely on their heritage cultural views of work to regulate their workplace behaviors. This combination of cultural differences and lack of cultural competencies on both sides leads to communication difficulties (Mondair & Neault, 2011) and strengthens the intergroup bias, which is a tendency to demonstrate more favorable cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses toward one's own social group than towards other social groups (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). This bias may lead to intergroup anxiety,

distrust, contact avoidance, discrimination, and proliferation of negative stereotypes (Dovidio, Eller, & Hewstone, 2011; Dovidio et al., 2003; Tajfel, 1982), thereby posing a barrier to productive professional relationships between Canadian employers and the newcomers. As a result, on one hand, Canadian employers discriminate against certain groups of immigrants and devalue their foreign experience and credentials. On the other hand, immigrants fail to demonstrate workplace behaviors appropriate in the Canadian culture, thus further decreasing the likelihood of being hired, promoted, and paid equally.

Figure 1.1.

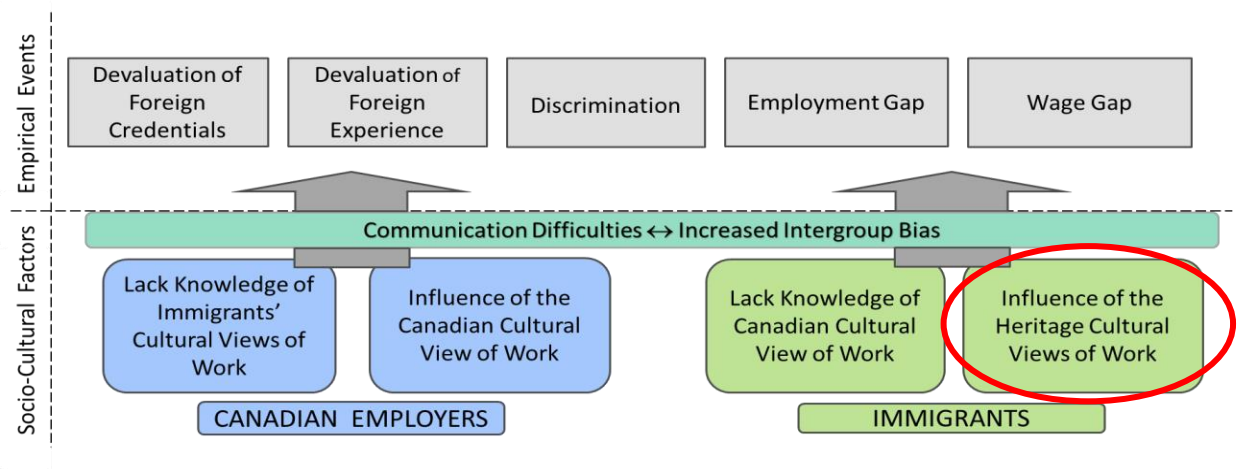
The Role Culture Plays in the Problem of Immigrant Economic Integration.



Albeit simplified, this model shows how underlying socio-cultural factors contribute to the observed empirical problem of immigrant economic integration. And to fully address the impact of the socio-cultural factors, researchers need to investigate the cultural views of work of various immigrant groups, compare them with the Canadian cultural view of work, and develop interventions that would improve intercultural competencies and reduce intergroup bias among Canadian employers and immigrant employees. Due to its limited scope, the current study begins to address this problem by investigating Ugandan cultural view of work, as immigrants from Uganda belong to one of the most disadvantaged immigrant groups in Canada – African immigrants (see Figure 1.2.).

Figure 1.2.

The Focus of the Current Study.



1.2.1. Culture and Employment Outcomes

When newcomers arrive in Canada, they enter a new sociocultural reality that functions on the basis of certain assumptions that natives consider to be true; behaviors based on these assumptions are considered to be "normal", and the thinking based on them to be commonsensical. The newcomers, on the other hand, were raised in different sociocultural realities, based on different assumptions that are associated with other "normal" behaviors and ways of thinking. The experience of the newcomer in this situation was brilliantly described by Alfred Schutz (1976) in his essay "The Stranger":

> He [the newcomer] becomes essentially the man who has to place in question nearly everything that seems to be unquestionable to the members of the approached group… To the stranger, the cultural pattern of his home group continues to be … the unquestionable theme of reference… therefore, the stranger starts to interpret his new social environment in terms of thinking as usual." (p. 502)

Problems arise when "thinking as usual" for immigrants does not match well with "thinking as usual" for natives (Schutz, 1976); as a result, behaviors get misinterpreted and expectations get left unmet. However, because both parties may be unaware of the conflict between the cultural frameworks on which they base their relations, frustration, disappointment, prejudice, and, finally, discrimination may arise.

Conflicts of cultural worldviews, or ways of thinking, are common in the workplace (Bauder, 2003, 2005; Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015; Holmes, 2012). For example, a review of immigrant case studies found that, in 80% of the cases, culture was a factor contributing to challenges at the workplace (Holmes, 2012). These challenges occur because immigrant employees enter the Canadian job market with a certain culturally grounded understanding of the workplace (e.g. roles, norms, values), which may differ from that shared by Canadians.

When these differences are not managed effectively, they may have detrimental effects on productivity, job satisfaction, and the relationships between culturally diverse colleagues (Mondair & Neault, 2011). For example, Yugoslavian immigrants were perceived to have low motivation to work and build their careers because they preferred to work during the breaks in order to go home earlier and spend more time with their families, as opposed to Canadians, who used their breaks to rest and went home following the schedule (Bauder, 2003). Similarly, immigrant workers from Uganda and their Canadian colleagues may have a different understanding of various aspects of work. Therefore, exploration of their cultural background is useful for determining its similarities and potentials points of conflict with the Canadian culture.

1.2.1.1. Challenges in conceptualizing culture. To the best of my knowledge, no research has been conducted to specifically address the role of culture in the employment outcomes among African-born immigrants in Canada. Moreover, studies on culture as a factor affecting employment outcomes of any immigrant group are quite rare. This may be attributed to the difficulty of operationalizing the concept of culture, which often stands for different phenomena both in governmental reports and in social sciences.

In some government reports, cultural background of immigrants is often understood as a competency, or a type of capital that brings economic profit, which may include the ability to write Canadian resumes and the knowledge of Canadian workplace norms (e.g., Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015). Such reports focus on the way knowledge of the Canadian culture can help newcomers adapt to the new environment, but disregard the impact of the newcomers' native cultural background. Others do discuss cultural differences

between the heritage and receiving cultures, but do not specify what these differences are; at best, anecdotal evidence is given (e.g. Picot & Sweetman, 2005).

The same vagueness can be observed in the academia, where no uniform agreed-upon definition of culture exists (Reitz, 2007; Stebleton, 2012; Triandis & Brislin, 1984). As a result, culture has been operationalized in different ways depending on the needs of a particular project (Poortinga, 2015). For example, culture was often used to refer to *ethnic* and national groups (e.g. Chinese, Canadian), to particular attitudes and values (e.g. collectivism/individualism), and to behaviors (e.g. food choices, communication styles) (J. W. Berry, 2009; Poortinga, 2015; Segall, Lonner, & Berry, 1998).

Such conceptual ambiguity often leads to overgeneralizations, emphasis on cross-cultural differences, and contradictory findings that mostly rely on correlations, but claim causal relationships between the variables of interest (Poortinga, 2015). Admitting the unsatisfactory use of the concept of culture in research, some cross-cultural psychologists even suggest abandoning it altogether and creating easily understandable and measurable variables instead (Poortinga, 2015).

However, undisciplined use of the concept in the field does not mean that the phenomenon it refers to does not exist. In fact, the difficulties scientists face when studying culture only point to the complexity of this phenomenon, which means it cannot be simplified and adequately described by several distinct variables. So, instead of rejecting a concept that is too difficult to operationalize, the scientific community needs to face the challenge and develop a theory that would adequately reflect its complexity and be well suited for empirical applications.

Such theory would need to satisfy the following criteria: 1) explain the nature of the phenomenon: what culture is and how it is created and maintained; 2) describe its components and relations among them; 3) explain the mechanism through which culture regulates human behavior; 4) be suitable for applications in empirical research; and 5) can be used to design interventions for cases when culture stays in the way of people's optimal functioning.

Only a strong theoretical framework will enable researchers to explain the relationship between culture, psyche, and behavioral outcomes and to address the research problem at hand. Thus, to understand how culture may impact employment outcomes of African immigrants, we

need to, first, theoretically define the concept of culture, second, apply the theory to explore cultural view of work of this immigrant group, and, third, identify the potential impact it may have on their economic integration. Guided by this plan, I will present the theory of cultural models and analyze studies that attempted to use similar approaches in the next chapter, then outline methodological basis of the current study and present its results in the chapters three and four, and conclude with a discussion of results and a critical reflection on applied theory and methodology in the chapter five.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Theory of Cultural Models

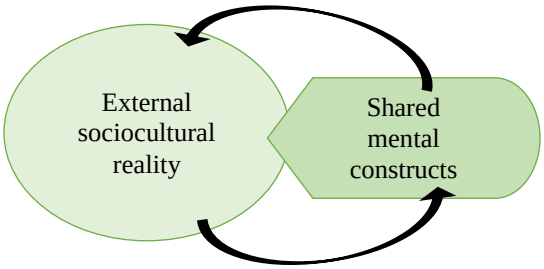
A theory of culture that meets aforementioned criteria is a theory of cultural models developed by cognitive anthropologists Roy D'Andrade, Naomi Quinn, Dorothy Holland, Claudia Strauss, and Brad Shore (D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Holland & Quinn, 1987; Shore, 1996; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). According to this theory, culture is, in short, a "heterogeneous collection of models" that exists both as external socio-symbolic reality and as mental representations of this reality in the minds of individuals (Shore, 1996, p. 44). Although the idea of culture as a system of models can be traced back to Emile Durkheim's "collective representations" (1892), Ruth Benedict's "cultural patterns" (1934), and Clifford Geertz's "cultural templates" (1973), the theory of cultural models is unique in its emphasis on the duality of cultural knowledge that exists both "out there" in the social world, and "in here" in the human mind (Shore, 1996).

The concept of *cultural model*, which is central to this theory, can be defined as conventional publicly available forms and their mental representations, which are shared by the members of a social group (Shore, 1996). By publicly available forms, we mean social institutions, a collection of communal knowledge, and related symbolic forms (e.g. artifacts, language) - everything that is potentially accessible to each member of the community (Shore, 1996). And by shared mental representations we mean "presupposed, taken-for-granted, commonsensical, and widely shared assumptions, which a group of people holds about the world and its objects" (Hollan, 1992, p. 285). It follows, that there are two interacting aspects of cultural models (see Figure 1.3.): one, is the regularities of the external sociocultural reality, and,

the other, is mental constructs that support and represent this reality, and which are shared by the members of a cultural community. Theoretically, it is useful to distinguish these aspects of cultural models into *public* and *private* (Chirkov, 2016). Strauss and Quinn (1997), also referred to these aspects as *extrapersonal* and *intrapersonal* (p. 6).

Figure 1.3.

Public and Private Aspects of a Cultural Model.



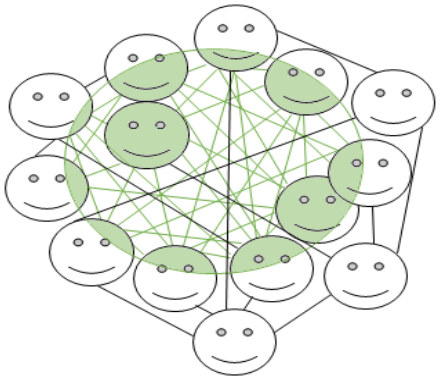
Note: This figure illustrates two interrelated aspects of a culutral model: the private aspect is represented by the extrnal socioculutral reality from which individuals derive shared mental schemas, which constutute the public aspect of the model.

Figure 1.4. illustrates the cultural model in its entirety (i.e., public and private aspects) and its relation to social interaction. It is evident from this illustration that: first, individuals vary in the degree to which the model and its aspects are cognitively represented in their minds (or to put it differently, a degree to which this model is internalized by individuals), second, there are aspects of individual mind that are not related to this cultural model (unshaded portions of the faces), and third, not all social interactions relate to this particular cultural model, but are guided by either other cultural models, or individual (or idiosyncratic) norms.

Cultural models are created, maintained, and transformed in the process of social interactions, both physical and verbal, among members of a particular cultural community, but also make these interactions possible, meaningful, and efficient (Chirkov, 2016; Shore, 1996). Therefore, culture and psyche are co-constitutive and can be understood only in relation to one another. In the next section, I will discuss public and private aspects of cultural models in more detail, however, it is important to keep in mind that this is only a theoretical distinction, and the two aspects are dialectically interrelated.

Figure 1.4.

Cultural Model in its Entirety.



Note: The green portion of the figure represents the cultural model in its entirety, which includes a private aspect (i.e., the green portions of the faces), public aspect (the space within the green sphere between the faces), and social interactions (illustrated by the green lines) that maintain and are guided by this model. The black lines represent social interactions that take place outside of the cultural model (i.e. do not sustain it and are not guided by it).

2.1.1. Public and Private Aspects of Cultural Models

2.1.1.1. Public aspect of cultural models. Every individual is born into a preexisting sociocultural reality that was co-constructed by his or her ancestors (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Schutz, 1953). As Alfred Schutz (1953) noted: "This world existed before our birth and was experienced and interpreted by our predecessors as an organized world" (p. 4). This organized world that is available to everyone from birth is the public aspect of cultural models, and it is made up of a social stock of knowledge and social institutions (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Shore, 1996).

The social stock of knowledge is a collective system of knowledge and practices accumulated on the basis of biographical experiences of individuals and historical experiences of communities and is transmitted from generation to generation (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, pp. 55-56.). The social stock of knowledge is taken for granted by the members of the community and is intersubjectively shared among them; this means, its validity is rarely challenged and it is potentially available to everyone in that cultural community (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Schutz, 1953). Individuals rely on this knowledge to orient themselves in the everyday life, to perform daily tasks, to understand the world, others, and themselves. This knowledge is socially distributed, that is, members of a society typically have different degrees of familiarity with and

access to it (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). For example, one may share highly detailed professional knowledge with colleagues, but have only a general idea of some other aspect of sociocultural reality that is irrelevant to that person, but is highly relevant to and shared by others.

Another component of the public aspect of cultural models is social institution – "reciprocal typification[s] of habitualized actions by typified actors" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 72). In other words, a social institution, in its most general understanding, presupposes that certain types of actions are to be performed in a certain way by certain types of people, under certain circumstances, at a particular time. These typifications are socially constructed in the process of history and the knowledge related to them become embedded in the public aspect of cultural models (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Typical social institutions are family, education and schooling, religion, employment, and health care. Individuals may not understand the origins of social institutions because these institutions (e.g. slavery, corporal punishment, Christianity) were not grounded in their biographical experiences, which is why social institutions are commonly perceived as an objectively given reality that can be easily reified (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

The social stock of knowledge and social institutions are commonly associated with and expressed in various symbolic forms: physical (e.g. buildings, artifacts, tools), linguistic (e.g. categories, concepts, proverbs, folktales, laws, morals), nonlinguistic (e.g. smells, music, spatial organization), and behavioral (e.g. scripts, rituals, gestures) (Shore, 1996). These forms are traditional objects of scientific inquiry in cultural anthropology (e.g. ethnographic descriptions), archaeology (e.g. cultural artifacts), and linguistics (e.g. kin taxonomies).

Berger and Luckmann (1967) suggest that culture, as a publicly available form, is created, maintained, and transformed in the process of social interaction through the mechanisms of externalization and objectivation. Through externalization, individuals project subjective meanings into the world; then, through objectivation, these externalizations are given an objective from (for example, they are labeled by language or a book being published) and become readily available to others. These mechanisms are crucial for the survival of human

beings because they allow people to create a stable and predictable sociocultural environment (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

Highly institutionalized aspects of sociocultural reality are commonly interrelated and organized into domains, which often correspond with social institutions (e.g. employment, marriage, education); people are typically aware of their existence and are able to describe them (Chirkov, 2016; Shore, 1996). Publicly available forms that have a less explicit form (e.g. scripts or ways of thinking) tend to be perceived as implicit by the individuals, who may not even be consciously aware of them (Shore, 1996).

2.1.1.2. Private aspect of cultural models. Publicly available forms of sociocultural reality have an impact on individual behavior only to the extent that individuals live by them (Hollan, 1992). In other words, in order to have a regulatory force, public aspects of cultural models need to be transformed into mental representations, or *schemas*, which individuals employ to function in the world. There are several classifications of mental schemas in psychology (e.g. S. Fiske & Taylor, 2013). For the purpose of this discussion, it is useful to classify schemas by their origin. Specifically, there are three types of schemas: innate (genetically determined), idiosyncratic (constructed from personal experience in the world, not shared with others), and, finally, there are shared conventional schemas that are constructed in the process of socialization (Shore, 1996; Strauss & Quinn, 1997).

Innate schemas are present at birth and allow infants to orient themselves in the world; they serve as a basis for more complex and detailed types of schemas. For instance, an evidence of the existence of innate schemas is the infants' tendency to direct gaze onto faces, especially the eyes (Farroni, Massaccesi, Menon, & Johnson, 2007). *Idiosyncratic schemas* are constructed from individual experiences, and, thus are relatively culture-free. For example, one may have an idiosyncratic schema of one's house, and this schema will not be shared with others. Finally, there are *conventional schemas*, which are cognitive representations of the public aspects of cultural models (Shore, 1996).

Shore (1996) emphasized the social origin of conventional schemas by defining them as "intersubjective representations, constructed by individuals in relation to social environment" (p. 49). That is, similarly to idiosyncratic schemas, conventional schemas are constructed by

individuals from their experiences; however, they come to be intersubjectively shared because their construction is directed by cultural norms and practices that "constrain attention and guide what is perceived as salient" (Shore, 1996, p. 47). For example, one of the reasons individuals from the same culture may construct a similar schema of marriage is because most of them went through the same kind of marriage ceremony, which guided their attention to specific aspects of spousal relationship (e.g. mutual commitment) that define marriage in a given culture.

This socially directed construction of conventional mental schemas constitutes the process of socialization, whereby publicly available cultural forms created through externalization become internalized by individual members and gain regulatory power over their behavior; Shore (1996) calls this process "the second birth of culture" (p. 208). The mechanism by which conventional schemas, as cognitive representations of public aspects of cultural models, are constructed is called *internalization*; so, conventional schemas can also be called "internalized aspects of cultural models" (Chirkov, 2016, p. 44). When internalized, cultural models "become a part of the individual; that is, become what is right and true" (D'Andrade, 1995, p. 227). It is through the process of internalization of their public aspects, cultural models are passed on to the next generations and gain a regulatory force for the members of a society. Individuals consciously and unconsciously employ these schemas to interpret their experiences, make decisions, and regulate their behaviors in accordance with cultural norms (Chirkov, 2016).

However, conventional schemas are not simple copies of publicly available forms, from which they were derived (Chirkov, 2016; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). In contrast to rich and complex publicly available cultural forms, in conventional schemas "details are reduced in complexity … while salient features of an environment are selected and sometimes exaggerated or otherwise transformed by a process of formalization and simplification…" (Shore, 1996, p. 47). Furthermore, because, in the process of socialization, individuals are exposed to different aspects of sociocultural reality, conventional schemas vary among the community members (Shore, 1996).

Conventional schemas can also be more or less affected by idiosyncratic experiences and individual characteristics (e.g. tastes, personality traits); moreover, conventional and idiosyncratic schemas may conflict (Shore, 1996). Thus, idiosyncratic and conventional schemas

are the two points on a continuum, rather than two isolated types of schemas. And members of a cultural community are not simply reproducers of publicly available patterns of behaviors and meanings, but agentic beings, who actively select, interpret, and transform sociocultural reality in accordance with their goals (Chirkov, 2016).

In sum, publicly available forms of sociocultural reality are represented in the minds of individuals in form of conventional schemas. Public aspects of cultural models are created in the process of social interaction through mechanisms of externalization and objectivation; whereas, their cognitive representations are created through the mechanism of internalization. Externalization, objectivation, and internalization occur simultaneously, rather than sequentially, both at the social and individual levels; which means that sociocultural environment and individual psyche make each other up in the process of constant interaction (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Shweder, 1991). These dynamics are reflected in the emerging properties of cultural models: intentionality, intersubjectivity, and taken-for-grantedness.

2.1.2. Basic Properties of Cultural Models

The explanatory power of the theory of cultural models comes from its basic premise that, although culture is often perceived to be external to and independent of individual psyche, it is actually a product of human activity, moreover, it is "an ongoing human production" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 67). When theories that are unable to notice and explain this paradox are applied in research, it leads to reification of culture, which is a perception of culture as a non-human creation, objectively given reality that influences human psyche in a unidirectional manner (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). For example, culture is frequently reified by cross-cultural psychologists, who aim to discover culture-free universal aspects of psyche and understand how they are influenced by various cultural factors (e.g. Segall et al., 1998). Research based on a reified conception of culture is unable to fully explain how and why culture works. This mainly happens because the mechanisms of social construction of cultural reality, and their implications for the properties of culture and the human mind remain poorly understood in such research.

Intentionality, intersubjectivity, and taken-for-grantedness are the properties of culture, and, therefore, of cultural models, that were discussed (although, not necessarily named in a similar way) by many philosophers and social scientists (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; D'Andrade

& Strauss, 1992; Holland & Quinn, 1987; Schutz, 1953; Shore, 1996; Shweder, 1991). However, they were not used to guide socio-psychological research of culture. In this section, I will discuss each of these properties and their implications for empirical research.

2.1.2.1. Intentionality. Human consciousness is *intentional*, it is always directed towards some aspect of reality, and it is never empty (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Externalization and objectivation of subjective meanings enable humans to construct intentional sociocultural realities, consisting of intentional things – things that "would not exist independently of our involvements with and reactions to them… [that] exercise their influence in our lives because of our conceptions of them" (Shweder, 1991, p. 74). For example, the idea of a diet is an intentional thing, because it has been invented by people and for people, and it is valid and meaningful only in a community of individuals who share the belief in the need to control one's food consumption, value certain body shapes, and adjust their behaviors accordingly.

However, the sociocultural reality is intentional not only because it is socially constructed, but also because it exists only as long as members of the social community continue to maintain it through their mental representations of the intentional things that comprise it. Shweder (1991) labeled these mental representations "intentional states (beliefs, desires, emotions)" (p. 75). In other words, when people in a community stop maintaining a certain aspect of intentional reality, it ceases to exist. For example, the institution of dowry, which was important in many European societies in the past, has disappeared as families stopped exercising this practice with the increase in their average wealth (Anderson, 2003).

Thus, cultural models, as described above, are intentional: their public aspect represents intentional things, whereas, private aspect represents intentional states, and, taken together, these aspects mutually constitute the reality of the cultural models. (Chirkov, 2016; Shweder, 1991). When approached through the idea of intentionality, the interdependence and co-constitution of these aspects of cultural models becomes clear: "A sociocultural environment is an intentional world…because its existence is real, factual, forceful, but only as long as there exists a community of persons whose beliefs, desires, emotions, purposes, and other mental representations are directed at it, and thereby influenced by, it." (p. 74).

Intentionality of cultural models explains cultural diversity across communities, its potential to change, and the need for socialization practices. Importantly, it brings an end to the dichotomy between 'cultural' and 'psychological' by demonstrating that these are two interacting and mutually constitutive aspects of a psychosociocultural reality.

2.1.2.2. Intersubjectivity. Cultural models are intersubjective because they are created and exist only in the process of social interaction, both physical and verbal; and, in order for these models to serve as facilitators and regulators of this interaction, they need to be interpreted in the same way by all members of a cultural community (Chirkov, 2016). As Shutz (1953), illustrates "I do not understand …a sign or a symbol, without knowing what it stands for in the mind of the person who uses it" (p. 7). Therefore, to interact with each other, members of a community need to share the same assumption that the social stock of knowledge that is available to me, is also available to others; this assumption allows everyone to rely on this "objective" (or publicly available) system of shared meanings and use it as a tool for efficient interactions.

Cultural models come to be intersubjectively shared by the members of the cultural community through socialization practices. At the level of the individual, intersubjectivity is experienced as a sense of sharedness of the intentional reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Schutz, 1953). That is, each member assumes that his/her cultural reality is interpreted similarly by others and that others are aware of this assumption; which can be summarized as "I know that you know that I know what this intentional thing means" (Chirkov, 2015, p. 46). Intersubjective sharedness of cultural models accounts for smooth social interactions among the members of a cultural community. For example, individuals with the same cultural background use proverbs without the need to explain the meaning behind them. Moreover, many linguistic forms are based on a set of culturally shared assumptions, which were extensively studied by Quinn, Strauss, D'Andrade, and their colleagues (D'Andrade, 1995; Holland & Quinn, 1987).

2.1.2.3. Taken-for-grantedness. The sociocultural reality is taken-for-granted by the members of a cultural community, which means that it is perceived as the only natural and valid reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Chirkov, 2016). Cultural reality becomes taken-for-granted because cultural models are internalized by the individuals in the form of conventional schemas

at an early age; moreover, conventional schemas seem to function at the level of associative processing (i.e. implicitly, out of conscious awareness), similar to other cognitive schemas (Chirkov, 2016; S. Fiske, 2004). As a result, the intentional reality remains unquestioned as longs as it stays relatively unproblematic. However, when a problem arises, or when a person has a need (or is forced) to consciously reflect on its meaning, the intentional reality is no longer taken for granted, and can be questioned, transformed, and even rejected (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). For example, when immigrants arrive at their host country, they may realize that the taken-for-granted reality of their home country does not exist there anymore. As a result, they may feel lost in a new and uncertain reality and experience and an *acculturation shock*. This loss of taken-for-grantedness of everyday reality is probably one of the biggest contributors to the acculturation stress of immigrants and refugees.

Intentionality, intersubjectivity, and taken-for-grantedness inherent to culture make it a powerful regulator of human cognition, motivation, and behavior. This issue is of central importance to psychologists because it explains how and why culture may facilitate or inhibit optimal human functioning in various aspects of life.

2.1.3. Cultural Models and Language

The theory of cultural model has been applied not only by cognitive anthropologists but also by linguistic anthropologists (Bonvillain, 2014; Kronenfeld, 2008; Quinn, 2005a). And because the current study explores a cultural model of work through an analysis of interviews, it is necessary to discuss how language and cultural models are connected and how cultural models can be accessed through language.

There are different points of view on the relationship between language and culture (see Bonvillain, 2014; Wierzbicka, 1992 for a review). On one hand there is a view that bearers of different languages have completely different worldviews and ways of thinking, suggesting a complete (or almost complete) correlation between language and culture (Herder, 1877-1913; Humboldt, 1903-36; Sapir, 1949; Whorf, 1956). On the other hand, there is a view that all humans have an innate conceptual system, which makes language largely independent from culture (Chomsky, 1975).

The current study is based on a perspective that reconciles these two views. The scholars that advocate for this perspective conceptualize language and culture as two related systems, which overlap but do not completely correlate with one another (Kronenfeld, 2008; Salzmann, Stanlaw, & Adachi, 2014). In other words, not all linguistic forms are culturally relevant and bear cultural meaning, and not all aspects of cultural models are expressed linguistically. For example, Wierzbicka (1992) discusses her research on linguistic primitives (e.g., words like *I*, *you*, *want*, *think*, and *feel*), which are innate ideas that people use to interpret experiences; these primitives are present in every language and have the same (or similar) meaning across cultures. One the other hand, Shore (1996) asserts that cultural models can be expressed without language through actions (e.g., rituals, dance), non-linguistic forms (e.g., music, smells), and physical symbols (e.g., statues, buildings).

Despite the fact that some forms of language and culture can exist independently of one another, there is a large body of research by linguistic and cognitive anthropologists that illustrates how cultural models become integrated into the language of a particular cultural community (e.g., see Bonvillain, 2014; Quinn, 2005a for an overview). This relationship stems from the fact that cultural models are created, expressed, and transmitted through symbolic representations, and language is one of the mediums for such representations (Shore, 1996). That is, individuals encode the content of cultural models into various linguistic forms in order to convey cultural meanings during daily interactions and across time (Bonvillain, 2014; Shore, 1996). In addition, people use language to create cultural models through the process of objectivation (as discussed in section 2.1.1.), whereby culturally salient aspects of the inner or the outer world become embedded into various linguistic forms (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

It is precisely this connection of language and cultural models that enables researchers to access cultural models through the analysis of linguistic forms into which they were encoded (Quinn, 2005a; Strauss & Quinn, 1997; Wierzbicka, 1997). And because cultural models can be encoded into various linguistic forms, researchers have several mediums through which they can access these models. For example, cultural models have been explored through linguistic analysis of metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Quinn, 2005b), keywords (De Mente, 2004; Wierzbicka, 1997), narratives (Hill, 2005), folktales (Mathews, 2005), and reasoning

(D'Andrade, 2005; Quinn, 2005b). In these studies, researchers used linguistic forms as a window into the intersubjectively shared, intentional, and taken-for-granted knowledge that representatives of a certain culture use to express meaning. More specifically, the content of the cultural models was inferred through the analysis of unstated cultural assumptions, relationship between different parts of speech, and the meaning and use of words. In the current study, I take the same analytic approach to explore the cultural model of work in Uganda through metaphors, keywords, and reasoning provided by the study participants during interviews.

2.2. Cultural Models and Human Functioning

From an evolutionary perspective, human beings need to organize and structure their representation of reality in order to survive (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998). As a result, the emerged intentional sociocultural reality (i.e. culture) constitutes and orients psychological processes and behavior by motivating action, mediating information processing and meaning construction, and regulating behavior (D'Andrade, 1995; Shore, 1996; Strauss & Quinn, 1997).

First, cultural models have a motivating (or a directive) force and serve as a basis for setting goals (Holland & Quinn, 1987). Culture supplies "in-order-to" motives, that is, an idea or image of a desirable state of affairs, for which an action is to be undertaken (Schutz, 1953, p. 16). These ideas and images are embedded in *moral codes and values* - information about the desirable and undesirable goals and means of achieving them (Chirkov, 2016).

The motivational power of cultural models comes from two sources, as Quinn and Holland (1987) suggested: "One basis is in the authority and expertise with which cultural models may be invested, another is the intrinsic persuasiveness these models themselves have for us." (p. 9). That is, first, individuals tend to choose certain cultural knowledge in favor of alternatives because it is presented to new members of the community by authority figures (e.g. parents, teachers, religious and political leaders). Moreover, much of cultural knowledge is coded in form of propositions (e.g. proverbs, moral rules), which are perceived as the embodiment of human wisdom. Second, when internalized, cultural models become intrinsically motivating, and individuals perceive culturally derived schemas as a natural and habitual way of interpreting reality. In the words of D'Andrade (1984): "Through the process of socialization,

individuals come to find achieving culturally prescribed goals and following cultural directives to be motivationally satisfying, and to find not achieving culturally prescribed goals and not following cultural directives to be anxiety producing." (p. 98).

Culture not only has motivational power, but also serves as a tool for information processing and meaning making - interpreting oneself, others, and the world (Shore, 1996; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). For these purposes, culture supplies *systems of concepts* and *meanings* (Chirkov, 2016). In this sense, cultural models, and, specifically, the conventional schemas, serve as "mediating structures" for creating cultural meanings (Strauss & Quinn, 1997, p. 164). These schemas are activated by cultural stimuli that are present in the sociocultural reality. And because people from one cultural community will develop similar conventional schemas, they will extract similar cultural meanings from the same stimulus. The construction of culturally shared meanings will lead to relatively predictable and stable conduct among the members of a community, thereby making social interaction within this community coordinated.

Finally, culture regulates behavior by supplying individuals with specific *repertoires of behavior*s that facilitate social interaction and achievement of individual goals in various domains of experience. To ensure that all members of the society follow established conventions, cultural models also contain *regulatory mechanisms* – norms, sanctions, and rewards - which signal whether an individual is acting appropriately or not.

Thus, a community creates and uses culture to regulate the behaviors of its members by motivating and guiding their actions and providing means of interpreting the world around them. These functions are reflected in the structure of cultural models, proposed by Chirkov (2016). Specifically, there are five distinct components of cultural models:

- *Conceptual system* includes concepts and categories that serve to understand the world and the relations between its parts;
- *Moral codes and values* represent socially desirable and undesirable goals and ways of thinking, acting and feeling.

- *Systems of meanings* are conventional ways of interpreting the self, others, and the world. These conventional interpretations (i.e. cultural meanings[4]) emerge in the process of interaction with the world and others;
- *Repertoire of behaviors* are conventional sets of behaviors (e.g. scripts) and practices (e.g. rituals), which serve various purposes;
- *Regulatory mechanisms* refer to the established norms and forms of punishment and reward for dissenting from/adhering to these norms.

The content of each of these structural components will differ for public and private aspects of cultural models. Specifically, public aspects of the model will have a broader and richer structural content, while in the conventional schemas these components will be partially represented, moreover, they may be interrelated with the idiosyncratic schemas.

2.3. Summary and Implications for Research

The theory of cultural models is valuable because it reconciles human agency with cultural determinism and explains how human beings can be fundamentally similar and different at the same time. Instead of falling into false dichotomies between 'social' and 'cultural' and 'cultural' and 'psychological', the theory of cultural models locates the mechanisms connecting *sociocultural* reality and psyche and recognizes the dialectic co-constitutive relationship between these realms. In doing so, the theory of cultural models satisfies the criteria we set earlier: it explains what culture is, the mechanisms that support it, its structural components, and its relation to human functioning.

In addition to demystifying the concept of culture, this theory provides a solid platform for applied research on culture; several guidelines can be inferred from its main propositions:

First, because the sociocultural reality is intentional, researchers need to distinguish between public or private aspects of cultural models and use appropriate concepts and methods for each aspect when they try to study them. For example, when using interview as a method to study the public aspect, an interviewer would need to treat the interviewee as an informant – a

[4] "Cultural meaning is a typical interpretation of some type of object or event evoked in people as a result of their similar life experiences" (Strauss & Quinn, 1997, p. 6).

person who simply supplies information about the culture of interests; but if the researcher is interested in the private aspect, the interviewee's personal experiences, reflections, and feelings in that culture become of central importance. *Person-centered interviewing*, a method that will be discussed in detail later, combines both approaches and can be used to access both private and public aspects of cultural models in one interview. In addition, it is necessary to look at the interaction between these aspects, because in order to understand why intentional things exist, one needs to understand the intentional states that maintain them and vice versa.

Second, because cultural models are intersubjectively shared, it is possible to empirically access public aspect of cultural models through research of their internalized private aspects. However, because each individual may be exposed to only a certain aspect of the cultural model, the description of the public aspect of the model that will emerge in one study may not capture the model in its entirety. Therefore, it is important to 1) purposefully select participants with different backgrounds, experiences, and personal characteristics, 2) conduct multiple exploratory and confirmatory studies that would test and refine the cultural model of interest, and 3) use a variety of methods of data collection and analysis.

Third, because culture is taken for granted, researchers need to understand that individuals may not be able to explicitly describe their culture. Therefore, the actual content of cultural models needs to be analytically inferred by the researcher. For this reason, a simple content analysis of data, for example, may be misleading because it does not capture the shared assumptions behind the words. Similarly, the use of questionnaires with subsequent statistical analysis of the data has to be justified and cautiously applied to cultural research. One of the most effective strategies of extracting cultural models by using research methods that prompt people to apply, rather than describe their culture (Quinn, 2005a).

2.4. Applications of the Theory of Cultural Models

Although the theory of cultural models is still in the process of being established, its ideas were applied in sociological, anthropological, linguistic, and psychological research to study, among others, models of marriage (Quinn, 1987), education (Fryberg & Markus, 2007), self (Chao, 1995), health (Vukic, Gregory, Martin-Misener, & Etowa, 2011), social structure (Hewlett, Fouts, Boyette, & Hewlett, 2011), and employment (Hayes & Way, 2003; Stebleton,

2012). In this section, I will review and critically analyze three studies, where some aspect of the theory of cultural models was applied and which are relevant to the current study. The following aspects of each study will be analyzed: how the concept of the cultural model is understood, the methodology used to study it, the results, and strengths and limitations.

2.4.1. Cultural Models of Work

Hayes and Way (2003) applied cultural models approach to understand how minority culture contributes to the conceptions of work among low-income African-American single mothers. The authors argued that African-American women may have work-related beliefs and attitudes (i.e. cultural models, in their understanding) that originate from both mainstream and minority cultures. These 'cultural models', they hypothesized, may not only conflict amongst themselves but also be incompatible with personal goals and life situations of African-American women, thereby leading to inconsistent work behaviors and inability to achieve long-term employment and career success.

To test their hypothesis, Hayes and Way (2003) conducted a series of interviews with low-income African-American women - one of the most economically vulnerable minority groups in the USA. They analyzed collected data in two stages. First, they identified a variety of work-related beliefs and attitudes; in the second stage, they identified shared understandings and grouped them into more general 'cultural models' of work.

The researchers identified two groups of 'cultural models': one related to finding a job and the other, to achieving career success. The 'models' in the first group were similar to the values of the mainstream White middle-class culture and included the following: "it's their choice" (i.e., children should choose the occupation they like), "working your way up" (i.e., a belief that taking an undesirable entry-level job will be beneficial in the longs run), and "get a college education" (i.e., importance of education for obtaining a higher level position) (Hayes & Way, 2003, pp. 371-373).

The second group of 'cultural models' stemmed from the minority culture, where race, gender, and social status made an impact, and included: "just do your job" (i.e., a belief that hard work will bring career advancement), "believe in yourself" (i.e., belief in the importance of self-

confidence as a means to withstand discrimination), and "don't start a family too soon" (i.e., postponing childbirth is beneficial for career) (Hayes & Way, 2003, pp. 375-378).

The authors found that the actual behaviors of women were inconsistent with these 'cultural models', and concluded that the actual life experiences, including structural influences, personal relationships, and work-related experiences, modified the impact of these models. Although 'cultural models' were influential in some aspects, they argued that the necessities and emotions experienced in a daily life influenced women's work-related decisions more often. The authors concluded that 'cultural models' are malleable and interrelated, as they can be confronted, elaborated, and changed by the members of the social group. Hayes and Way (2003) recommended the design of interventions and policies that would diminish daily struggles of low-income social groups and provide opportunities to enact their beliefs about work.

This study is valuable for our research because it demonstrates the need to address the cultural influences behind work-related problems among minority groups. It also illustrates that minority groups may internalize both mainstream and minority cultural models of employment and that these models may be interacting in a complex way. The authors supported the main idea of the theory in their conclusion that individuals are not just passive consumers of cultural prescriptions, but are active creators of cultural meanings. Finally, the study brings to attention the fact that expressed beliefs and actual behaviors often contradict each other, which indicates that a traditional method of conducting and analyzing interviews is insufficient for uncovering cultural models.

The major limitation of this study was its theoretical basis; specifically, failure to separate models as mental representations (i.e., conventional schemas) from models as publicly available forms. Furthermore, the authors equated cultural models with beliefs by defining them as "theories about the world" (Hayes & Way, 2003, p. 368). By doing so, they disregarded the fact that what people say and do is often contradictory, and that cultural knowledge is taken for granted. From the perspective of the theory of cultural models, researcher's goal is not to summarize articulated beliefs, but to uncover the basis on which these beliefs were formed. And this basis is constituted by all structural components of a cultural model, which include not only propositional but also procedural knowledge and related practices.

Because of the weak theoretical background, data analysis in this study did not go beyond the level of attitudes and beliefs that were expressed by the women and yielded contradictory results. The fact that women's behaviors contradicted their beliefs can also be explained by inadequate sample, which included only low-income women. As noted before, a purposefully selected sample is necessary to obtain rich data for inferring cultural models. A full description of a cultural model of work has to be organized around its structural components, which include conceptual knowledge about work, systems of meanings, morals codes and values, behavioral repertoires, and regulatory mechanisms.

2.4.2. Cultural Models in African Communities

2.4.2.1. Cultural models and social learning. Anthropologists Hewlett, Fouts, Boyette and Hewlett (2011) applied elements of the theory of cultural models to a study of social learning among hunter-gatherer children in the Central African Republic. The authors argued that most studies on social learning were conducted on farmer societies, which significantly differed from hunter-gatherers. Therefore, they considered it important to study how social learning occurs among children in the hunter-gatherer communities.

Their research was based on the data collected across 15 years of interviews, questionnaires, and naturalistic and participant observations in both farmer and hunter-gatherer societies in Congo Basin. Hewlett and colleagues (2011) analyzed their data to examine how the modes[5] (i.e., individuals from whom children learn) and processes[6] (e.g., how they learn) of cultural transmission are influenced by the cultural structure. According to Hewlett et al. (2011), the cultural structure consists of "hunter-gatherer modes of thought and patterns of daily life and demography" (p. 1169). Modes of thought[7] were conceptualized as foundational schemas - "cultural values and ways of thinking and feeling that pervade several domains of life"; and patterns of daily life were represented by the term *habitus* – "daily, lived experiences" that are based on the foundational schemas (Hewlett et al., 2011, p. 1171). These conceptualizations bear

[5] Modes of transmission refer to "individuals from whom children learn and include vertical, horizontal, oblique, conformist and prestige-bias" (Hewlett et al., 2011, p. 1169).
[6] Processes of transmission include "teaching, emulation, imitation, and collaborative learning" (Hewlett et al., 2011, p. 1169)
[7] Modes of thought refer to different ways of thinking.

resemblance to the concept of a cultural model but do not clearly distinguish its public and private aspects.

Based on the collected data, the authors extracted three foundational schemas that characterized hunter-gatherer and three that characterized farmer societies in the observed region. For hunter-gatherers, the first schema was *egalitarianism*, which means that people are respected for who they are and have equal access to resources regardless of their age and sex. The second was *autonomy* schema, which means that everyone is considered free to do whatever they want, and coercion in any form is inappropriate. The third schema was *sharing*, that is, members of the community are expected to share what they acquire with others.

For farmers, the first foundational schema was *gender and age hierarchy*, which meant that women are to follow requests of men, and youngsters are expected to be obedient and respectful towards elders. The second was *communalism*, which means that the needs of the community are placed higher than those of the individual. And the third schema was *material/economic dimensions to social relations*, which means that interpersonal relations have a material component in that community (e.g., negative feelings about the death of a family member were associated with the loss of material benefits that the deceased person provided). The authors note that foundational schemas are enforced with sanctions (which also differ between farmers and hunter-gatherers) and are learned early in life.

The researchers analyzed how these foundational schemas shaped the habitus (i.e., daily life) of the community members, and how the habitus, in turn, served as a mean of learning the foundational schemas. For example, physical proximity (e.g., co-sleeping) and emotional intimacy (e.g., developing close emotional relationships with others) were based on the foundational schemas of sharing but also reinforced this schema among hunter-gatherers. While the lack of physical proximity and intimacy among farmers was based on and reinforced the foundational schemas of social hierarchy and material aspect in social relations.

Finally, Hewlett and colleagues (2011) provided some evidence of how the foundational schemas are represented in the minds of individuals in form of beliefs. For instance, due to the value of autonomy, hunter-gatherer mothers believed that the child has to decide when to stop breastfeeding and that weaning by force would cause the children to be sick. While the farmer

mothers made this decision for their children and thought that weaning the child too late will make the child lazy.

In this research, Hewlett and colleagues demonstrated how highly abstract cultural models (or foundational schemas) shape daily practices of the communities, and how these practices reinforce the existing models. Their findings support the ideas of the intentionality of cultural models and dialectic relations between culture, psyche, and behavior. Although the authors did not specifically distinguish and address private aspects of cultural models, their findings illustrate how foundational models can be represented in the minds of individuals. Finally, the authors showed the value of a multi-method approach to studies of human culture; the method of observation, which is commonly dismissed in psychological research, proved to be highly productive in this study.

2.4.2.2. The meaning of work. A final study relevant to the research problem at hand is the study of the meaning of work for Sub-Saharan African immigrants conducted by Stebleton (2012). Although the author did not use the theory of cultural models, his research was based on an interpretivist approach to social sciences, which is also characteristic for the theory of cultural models. In contrast to a positivist approach, which seeks to explain and predict behaviors, interpretivist approach strives to understand the meanings that actions have for an individual (Stebleton, 2012). In his research, Stebleton (2012) aimed to understand how the meaning of work for African immigrants was influenced by historical, political, economic, cultural, and personal contexts.

Another similarity of Stebleton's (2012) study to the current study, is the use of purposeful sampling. Specifically, the author purposefully selected participants on the basis of predetermined criteria: ethnic background, immigration status, age, adequate English proficiency, and work experience. He conducted a series of interviews with seven African immigrants who were pursuing 4-year undergraduate degrees and were considered adult students (age ranged from 26 to 41).

Stebleton (2012) used Gadamerian hermeneutic approach to interviewing, which emphasizes the importance of eliciting life narratives that would put personal perspectives of the interviewees into historical and cultural context. He noted that narrative as a linguistic genre is

particularly suitable for individuals from African cultures, where it traditionally serves as a primary teaching tool. Furthermore, he argued that inquiry methods that ask to dissect various aspects of experiences are inappropriate for African cultures, where *ubuntu* worldview is prevalent. According to the *ubuntu* philosophy, all aspects of human experience are interrelated, and thus one aspect of experience cannot be described without referring to another (Stebleton, 2012).

Stebleton (2012) found that the meaning of work is shaped by three factors: 1. Contextual factors, such as traumatic experiences of immigrants and their cultural background; 2. Family and community obligations; 3. Evolving identities. Specifically, traumatic experiences of immigrants (e.g. separation from family, exposure to war crimes and violence) had an effect on their career choices; for example, some chose to do social work to help people. Cultural influences, in form of traditional gender roles, discrimination, competition for resources, and poverty, had different effects on the meaning of work. For example, due to gender roles, African women did not distinguish between the paid and unpaid work (Stebleton, 2012).

Concerns about family and community obligations were attributed to the "social embeddedness of work", which is characteristic of the *ubuntu* worldview (Stebleton, 2012, p. 65). That is, all immigrants viewed work as an important way of supporting their extended families back home and of contributing to the wider community. Finally, by evolving identities, the author meant that African immigrant students develop new identities as students and employees while adjusting to the new work roles. For example, some of the participants noted difficulties in balancing work and life responsibilities and in adjusting to American work norms and roles (Stebleton, 2012).

Although the author outlined many different factors influencing the meaning of work, his analysis did not result in a coherent description of the meaning of work for this immigrant group. Moreover, the conclusions made by the author regarding the influence of culture are questionable. For example, he reified culture by equating it with contextual factors, such as discrimination and poverty; whereas social embeddedness of work was not considered to be a part of culture. However, one can only speculate on the cultural model of work that could have emerged if the author had applied the theory of cultural models in his study. The limitations of

this study underscore the importance of having a strong theoretical basis for research and demonstrate how an otherwise strong study can result in disorganized conclusions.

In sum, the authors of the reviewed studies failed to distinguish public and private aspects of cultural models, which resulted in findings that do not provide a description of the model in its entirety. The authors mostly focused on attitudes, beliefs, and goals articulated by the participants, but failed to address all five structural components of cultural models (e.g., norms, concepts); which led to a simplified presentation of culture, as a set of beliefs held by a certain group of people.

When analyzing the data, the researchers often took the words of the participants for an expression of the cultural model itself, thus failing to recognize taken-for-grantedness of the cultural reality. Instead, it was necessary to analytically infer the taken-for-granted content of the model from the data. Social distribution of cultural models was not taken into account either, and homogeneous samples, such as recruited by Hayes and Way (2003), failed to deliver information on different parts of the model; this problem can be solved by purposeful selection of the participants.

Finally, Hays and Way (2003) and Stebleton (2012) treated results of their research as evidence of actually existing cultural models. In our perspective, descriptions of cultural beliefs produced in these studies are not facts, but hypotheses that need to be tested in subsequent research. Thus, the discovery of cultural models is a process, which begins with exploratory studies that result in hypotheses of the cultural model of interest and continues with subsequent verification, correction, and expansion of these hypotheses. Only when the hypothetical structure and content of the cultural model are verified, suggestions for its practical implications can be made.

Discussed strengths and limitations of the past research together with the principles of the theory of cultural models were taken into consideration in the design and implementation of the current study.

2.5. Research Purpose and Questions

The current study is based on a hypothesis that immigrant workers come to Canada with an internalized cultural model of work which may conflict with that of the host culture. In this

situation, the hosts and the newcomers need to reflect on and negotiate their taken-for-granted cultural models. If the mismatch between the models goes unacknowledged on both sides, smooth integration of immigrants into the Canadian labour market may be compromised. Therefore, in order to address the problem of immigrant labour market integration, it is necessary to explore *cultural models of work*[8] of all parties involved and point out potentially problematic discrepancies between these models.

The current study informs the problem of immigrant economic integration by exploring the immigrants' cultural model of work. Its primary purpose was to investigate the public aspect of the cultural model of work among Ugandan immigrants. Its secondary purpose was to test, refine, and develop the theory of cultural models and methodology of extracting cultural models through the interview and theory-based techniques of data analysis. These goals are specified in the following research questions:

1. What are the main components and structure of the public aspect of the cultural model of work shared by immigrants from Uganda?

2. What strategy of person-centered interviewing is suitable for extracting cultural models?

3. What type of analysis should be applied to the data obtained from person-centered interviews in order to extract the structural components of the cultural model?

CHAPTER 3. METHOD

3.1. Data Generation

3.1.1. Target Country: Uganda

At the outset of this project, it was impossible to select one African country that would be targeted in this research due to a potential lack of participants in Saskatoon. It was decided to recruit participants from one of the following East African countries: Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, or Burundi. Because the first participant to be recruited was from Uganda, this country was selected as a target country for the current study.

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[8] In this study, the term work is used in its narrow sense to describe an organized activity, such as job, that individuals regularly preform in exchange for money or other form of compensation.

Uganda is located in East Africa, north of Lake Victoria, west of Kenya, and east of Congo; the capital of Uganda is Kampala. It is a developing country with a tropical rainy climate and a predominantly rural population of more than 38 million, 19% of which lives below the poverty line (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013). The following ethnic groups make up the majority of Uganda's diverse population: Baganda (16.5%), Banyankole (9.6%), Basoga (8.8%), Bakiga (7.1%), Iteso (7%), and Langi (6.3%). The most widely spoken language is Luganda, which is a native language of Baganda; English is an official language taught in schools. 84% of Ugandans are Christian and 13% are Muslim. Uganda has a free universal primary education and a literacy rate of 72% (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2015).

Before Uganda became a presidential republic, its territory hosted several kingdoms: Bunyoro, Busoga, Ankole, Toro, and Buganda (The Commonwealth, 2017). In the period from 1894 to 1896, these kingdoms became a Uganda Protectorate of the British Empire. Colonial history had a significant impact on the current socio-political and economic situation in modern Uganda, which gained independence in 1962. Specifically, because the ethnic groups united under the Uganda Protectorate were at different levels of development and had different socio-political systems and cultures, the British indirect rule approach that emphasized (often artificial) 'tribal' boundaries and encouraged competition between 'tribes' has led to increased ethnocentrism and ethnic tensions in the modern Ugandan society (Amone & Muura, 2013). After gaining independence, Uganda had a history of ethnic conflicts and military dictatorship and is currently led by the President Yoweri Museveni, who seized power in 1986 and who belongs to the Banyankole tribe of the Ankole kingdom (The Commonwealth, 2017). From the economic standpoint, British investment the production of cotton, coffee, and sugar has shaped the country's current economy, which still heavily relies on these commodities as source of revenue (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013).

Ugandan labour market. Uganda has a rapidly growing young population that constitutes a strong source of workforce in the years to come. The country's labour market is characterized by an active working-age population, 85% of which is employed, and a relatively low unemployment rate of 3.5% (LO/FTF Council, 2016). At the same time, due to the country's lack of capacity to provide universal secondary education, Uganda's labour market has a

shortage of skilled workers and a large proportion of low-skilled workers; for example, in 2012-13, only about 53% of Uganda's working-age population had primary education and about 20% had no formal schooling (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Moreover, low unemployment rates are explained by the fact that the majority (79%) of workers in Uganda are employed in the informal sector, which is composed of unregistered enterprises and characterized by the absence of legitimate labour contracts and social protection (e.g., paid vacation, sick leave, health insurance), low wages, precarious working conditions, and the mismatch between the level of worker's skills and the job requirements (LO/FTF Council, 2016; Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2015). As a result, growing informal sector, underemployment, and lack of formal skilled job opportunities constitute a problem for the Ugandan labour market.

Uganda's developing economy has a large agricultural sector, which employs 74% of its 17.2 million workforce and often relies on rudimentary technology and unpaid low-skilled labour (Council, 2016). The agricultural sector is followed by restaurant/hotel (9.4%), manufacturing (4.9%), and the public (4.5%) sectors. Despite the dominance of these sectors in the labour force, they account for a relatively small amount of GDP due to low labour productivity in the country (Council, 2016). In addition, the country's economy is characterized by high energy costs, inadequate transportation and energy infrastructure, insufficient budgetary discipline, and corruption (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013).

The working conditions in Uganda are characterised by low minimum wages, lack of union representation and job security, and low awareness of and compliance with existing labour regulations and occupational health and safety standards (Council, 2016). A large number of Ugandan workers (79%) are self-employed and only 20% are paid employees. When it comes to private enterprises, it is common for them to be unregistered and individually-owned.
There are contradictions and gaps in the legislation regarding child labour in Uganda, which in combination with a young population leads to high presence of children in the labour market. Specifically, 16% of children in Uganda are child labourers and another 39% are involved in some form of economic activity. Although men and women participate in the labour force equally, women are more likely to be self-employed and are less likely to be salaried workers

than men; in addition, more women than men work in the agricultural sector, are underpaid, and experience barriers to land ownership.

3.1.2. Position of the Researcher

In cultural research, it is important for the researcher to reflect on his or her position in respect to the cultural community of interest in order to minimize bias and address potential ethical and methodological problems. The researcher's position is informed by his or her methodological and personal cultural backgrounds.

From a methodological perspective, there are two basic approaches to studying cultures: etic and emic (Chirkov, 2016). E*tic* approach aims to describe cultures from the perspective of an outside observer; it usually produces a narrative describing cultural practices, but fails to explain why these practices exist and what meaning they have. E*mic* approach, which I adopt in this study, aims to understand cultures from the perspective of an insider, a member of the cultural community under investigation; this approach focuses on understanding why certain practices exist in a community and what knowledge individuals in a particular culture use to construct meaning and make sense of reality.

From a personal perspective, researcher's own cultural background and its relationship to the culture under investigation creates two possible positions: that of an insider and that of an outsider, each with its own advantages and disadvantages (Chirkov, 2016). An *insider* researcher belongs to the culture she or he is studying and is typically fluent in the native language this cultural community. As an insider, the researcher benefits from having access to the community, ease of communication, better rapport, and shared understanding of the reality. At the same time, an insider may not be able to distance him or herself enough from the subject of scientific inquiry to produce unbiased description and explanation of the phenomenon and to spot taken for granted peculiarities that would stand out only to an outsider.

My position in this study was that of an *outsider*, as I identify with Russian culture, do not belong to any ethnic group in Uganda, and do not I speak any of its native languages. Comparing to an insider researcher, I was more likely to experience communication barriers, to have difficulty establishing rapport, and to receive socially desirable answers from the

participants, who would be motivated to preserve a positive image of their culture. Finally, I was at risk of unintentionally violating cultural norms and alienating participants.

At the same time, being an outsider allowed me to distance myself from the culture and to see patterns of thought that might have been taken for granted by an insider, who would consider them insignificant. Further, being an outsider allowed me to ask basic, even naïve questions about the workplace and to feel free to ask many clarifying questions without the fear of irritating and alienating participants, who may have found similar behavior by an insider to be unusual and annoying. Finally, unlike an insider, I was not prone to filling in the gaps in my data from personal experiences, which reduced bias in the analysis of the data.

Because I used emic approach while being an outsider to the culture under investigation, my position in this study can be called *"outsider-to-insider"* (Chirkov, 2016). To compensate for the disadvantages posed by the outsider position, I avoided sensitive topics (e.g., income, unlawful behaviors, and moral dilemmas), prioritized establishing rapport over the volume of data to be collected, gave the participants control over the location and the duration of their interviews, educated myself on communication norms in Uganda, and tried to find points of connection with the participants by bringing out our shared background of being a foreigner in Canada. Throughout the study, I remained reflective of the potential ways my cultural background influences interpretation of the data and tried to eliminate any such influence.

3.1.3. Person-centered Interviewing

Person-centered interviewing was used to generate information on the cultural model of work in Uganda (Levy & Hollan, 1998). In this approach, each participant is interviewed from two perspectives: as an *informant* and as a *respondent*. When interviewed as an informant, a participant is treated as a witness and is asked to give an account of what other members of his or her community think or do regarding the topic of interest. Such interview questions prompt participants to share the knowledge they got from observing the daily life of other members of their community (e.g., what do people in your country say about an unemployed man?). In contrast, interviewing participants as respondents focuses on the first-person perspective – participants' individual experiences, as members of a particular cultural community. Such interview questions encourage participants to articulate own feelings, experiences, and

reflections regarding the discussed aspect of culture (e.g. how do you feel about being unemployed in your country?).

The main advantage of person-centered interviewing for the study of cultural models is its ability to supply researchers with rich and detailed data on both public and private aspects of the cultural model of interest (Chirkov, 2016). Specifically, the informant perspective allows researchers to locate widely shared aspects of the cultural model, while the participant perspective allows to understand which public aspects of the cultural model were internalized by a particular individual. Above all, a person-centered approach is able to capture the dialectical relationship between cultural and idiosyncratic aspects of people's mind, behavior, and experiences (Hollan, 2005).

3.1.3.1. The structure of interviews. Although, typically person-centered interviews are unstructured (e.g., Hollan, 2005), due to the scope of this project, semi-structured interviews were chosen to generate more data within a limited time frame.

Interview questions were designed to elicit long stretches of talk that would reveal at least one of the five structural components of the model (see Appendix B). The interview schedule consisted of six demographic questions and 23 main open-ended questions, which were accompanied by probing questions (see Appendix C). To improve the flow of the interviews, questions were grouped into seven topics that reflected the following areas of workplace relations: 1) work arrangements, 2) horizontal relations, 3) vertical relations, 4) work values, 5) work motivation and emotions, 6) gender norms, and 7) intergenerational changes.

One topic was to be discussed at a time; the first three-four topics were to be discussed during the first interview, and the remaining topics were to be discussed during the second interview, as they were more sensitive and required knowledge of the person's background. Questions that prompted informant perspective were to be followed by probing questions that elicited participant perspective, and vice versa. For example, the main question "What does success mean for people in Uganda?" (the informant perspective) was to be followed by "What do you think about success at work?" (the participant perspective).

The interview schedule served as a reference for the interviewer, rather than a rigid interview plan, which means that the order of questions asked could vary depending on the flow

of a particular interview. All questions were expected to be covered within two hour-long interviews. The interviewer played the role of an attentive listener, who would occasionally direct the conversation back to the topic and ask probing or additional questions with caution, so as not to interrupt the natural flow of associations and reasoning that occurs during the interview (Quinn, 2005).

Two pilot interviews with immigrants from Pakistan and South Korea were conducted to test the interview questions and the data analysis procedure, and to hone my interviewing skills. Pilot interviews proved to be essential to the success of this study for the following reasons:

1. They allowed me to test the wording and the sequence of interview questions. After piloting, the questions were arranged into seven topics to ensure uniformity across all interviews and to improve the flow of each individual interview. The wording of some questions was adjusted and the questions that should be asked first were determined.

2. Because one of the pilot interviews was fully analyzed, I was able to adjust data analysis technique in minor ways and to ensure that the interview questions do elicit answers that reveal the structure of the cultural model. Although most of the questions provided insight into the model, it became clear that it will be necessary to make every effort to arrange two interviews with each participant. Also, I was able to estimate the time needed to transcribe and analyze one interview and later used this information to plan this research project.

3. Piloting allowed me to test whether the time allocated for interviews was enough to cover all the questions, to see whether a voice recording device had a negative effect on rapport, and to practice asking questions – all of which improved my confidence and prepared me for the actual interviews. Further, it was determined that one hour was enough for each interview and that the voice recorder did not cause any visible discomfort to the interviewees. After the pilot interview, I became aware of parasite words that hinder my communication and tried to suppress their use in the further interviews.

3.1.4. Participant Selection and Recruitment

The purpose of sampling in the research on cultural models is not to select a large representative probability sample that allows for enumerative generalization to a population, but to select individuals that represent different aspects of the public aspect of a cultural model and

then to infer this model from these purposefully selected cases. As a well-known anthropologist, Ruth Benedict (1946/1974), commented on her methodology of studying Japanese culture:

> "In such study one quickly reaches the point where the testimony of great numbers of additional informants provides no further validation. Who bows to whom and when, for instance, needs no statistical study of all Japan; the approved and customary circumstances can be reported by almost any one and after a few confirmations it is not necessary to get the same information from a million Japanese." (p. 16-17)

Thus, any socialized member of a cultural community of interest can be a source of information about the public aspects of cultural models in his or her community. The task of a researcher is to infer these models through an analysis of several purposefully selected cases and to subsequently validate and explore them further until no new components and structural connections of the model can be found.

Following the above logic, purposeful maximum variation sampling was employed to select participants for this study (Patton, 2002). In this sampling approach participants are selected on the basis of predetermined criteria; each participant should differ from other on at least one of these criteria. This type of sampling creates a diverse sample, characterized by the maximum amount of individual and cultural variation, which allows for discovery of commonalities that run through it and reveal shared aspects of the cultural model.

To be eligible to participate in the study participants had to be born and raised until adulthood in Uganda, be able to speak English fluently, and have three or more years of work experience in Uganda. These eligibility criteria ensured that a potential participant has internalized and participated in the co-construction of the Ugandan cultural model of work and is able to fluently communicate with the researcher.

Eligible participants were purposefully selected on the basis of the following criteria:

Criterion 1. Gender. Both males and females were recruited in order to collect information on gender differences present in the cultural model.

Criterion 2. Employment sector: a) unpaid work, b) self-employed, c) paid work. Including individuals who engaged in different types of work provided information on different dimensions of the cultural model of work.

Criterion 3. Position held in Uganda: a) subordinate position, b) managerial position. Individuals who occupied different positions are exposed to different aspects of the cultural model of work.

Thus, a planned purposeful selection matrix included 10 individuals; in practice, I was able to recruit 7 participants (see Table 3.1.).

Table 3.1.

Purposeful Participant Selection Matrix.

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10
Criterion 1	F	**F**	F	**F**	**F**	**M**	**M**	M	**M**	**M**
Criterion 2	UW	**SE**	PW	-	-	**UW**	**SE**	PW	-	-
Criterion 3	-	-	-	**SP**	**MP**	-	-	-	**SP**	**MP**
	Not recruited	Case 7	Not recruited	Case 4	Case 6	Case 3	Case 1	Not recruited	Case 5	Case 2

Notes. Abbreviations used: P-participant, F-female, M-male, UW-unpaid work, SE-self-employment, PW-paid work, SP-subordinate position, MP-managerial position. Participants that were recruited are in bold.

Ethical approval for the study was obtained on June 15th, 2016 (Certificate of Approval Beh 16-196). Participant recruitment began on September 18th, 2016 and ended on December 25th, 2016. Participants were recruited through two postings on university bulletin board (one participant), personal networks of the researcher (two participants), and through references from other participants (four participants). Potential participants either contacted me or were contacted by me through telephone calls and text messages; each participant voluntarily provided their cellphone number, which was deleted from my cell phone device at the end of the recruitment period. Each potential participant received an invitation letter through email, which they voluntarily provided and which was deleted from my address book and email history at the end of the recruitment period.

3.1.4.1. Description of participants. There were seven participants in the study; four men and three women, with ages ranging from 24 to 49 (see Table 3.2.). The majority of them were from Central Uganda, Kampala, which is the capital of Uganda and the center of economic

activity; one participant was from Western Uganda[9], a region where the current leader of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, comes from. Due to tribalism and corruption in the Ugandan leadership, Central Ugandans, many of whom belong to Baganda tribe, may perceive their chances of employment success as lower than for Ugandans from the Western part of the country, who belong to the Banyankole tribe. Individuals from non-western parts of Uganda may also be more critical of and less satisfied with the existing situation in the country's employment sector.

Table 3.2.

Description of Participants.

Participant №	Gender	Age	Place of Origin	Experience in Uganda	Position Occupied	Immigrated to Canada	Estimated Income in Uganda
1	male	36	Kampala	14 years	Business owner & Top manager	>3 years ago	Above average
2	male	49	Kampala	5 years	Middle manager	>10 years ago	Above average
3	male	24	Western Uganda	3 years	Volunteer (unpaid)	<3 years ago	Average
4	female	49	Kampala	9 years	Subordinate position	>10 years ago	Above average
5	male	45	Kampala	4 years	Subordinate position	>10 years ago	Above average
6	female	35	Kampala	12 years	Middle manager	< 3 years ago	Average
7	female	~40	Kampala	15 years	Business owner.	>10 years ago	Above average

All participants were fluent in English and had a level of education equal to a Bachelor's degree or higher. Two participants affiliated with Islam, one with Christianity and four did not disclose their religious affiliation. Four participants were from affluent families and experienced advantages stemming from their higher socio-economic status, while three participants were

[9] The exact name of the city is not disclosed because it may compromise confidentiality of the participant.

raised in families with low socio-economic status and had to overcome challenges to attain education and build their careers in Uganda.

3.1.5. Interview Procedure

Each participant was asked to meet for two separate hour-long interviews; out of seven participants, five consented to meet for two separate interviews, one participant asked to conduct both interviews in one sitting (one 2-hour interview), and one participant agreed to meet for one interview. Interviews were scheduled through email or telephone. Participants were offered to meet on campus either in the interview room offered by Social Sciences Research Lab (SSRL) or in the Cross-Cultural Psychology Lab, or in any other place that was convenient to them. Three participants chose to be interviewed in the SSRL interview room, one participant - in the hotel dining room, two participants – in their homes, and one participant - in their office. Prior to interviewing, I explained the purpose of the study and the reason why I wanted to use a digital voice recording device and obtained participants' consent.

The first interview served to establish rapport, to obtain demographic information, and to ask questions about general work arrangements and two or three other areas of the cultural model of work (i.e., vertical relations and values). I did not ask all demographic questions right at the beginning of the interview, but distributed them throughout the interview for several reasons: 1) asking a series of questions that do not imply long answers at the beginning would establish dominant position of the interviewer, and inhibit the interviewee, who may feel being interrogated, 2) in some cases demographic questions may have interrupted the natural flow of the conversation between the interviewee and the interviewer, 3) age and tribe affiliation might be a sensitive topic for some individuals, so interpersonal connection had to be established prior to asking such questions. At the end of the first interview, participants were given a debriefing form (in case, they would not be able to meet for the second interview), thanked, and given a $10 gift card as a sign of appreciation. All participants had a chance to ask questions about the study, and many did. The duration of first interviews ranged from 50 to 95 minutes; the interview with the participant who asked to be interviewed in one sitting lasted 2 hours (excluding the time it took to obtain consent and to debrief the participants).

The second interview was usually scheduled 2-4 weeks after the first interview. The purpose of the second interview was to ask questions about the remaining aspects of the cultural model and to clarify uncertainties in the data obtained in the previous interview. A separate interview schedule was prepared for the second interview based on the preliminary analysis of the first interview transcripts. At the end of the second interview, participants were thanked and given another $10 gift card as a sign of appreciation. The participants had a chance to ask questions about the study; two participants asked to see the results of this study. The duration of the second interviews ranged from 30 to 80 minutes (excluding the time it took to greet and to debrief the participants).

All interviews were conducted in English, digitally recorded, and transcribed verbatim. None of the participants expressed concerns about the use of a digital recorder[10]; participants looked relaxed and comfortable during the interview. Each participant was given an opportunity to read the transcripts, to add, change, or delete any information they gave during the interview. Two participants chose to review their transcripts and were sent either an electronic version or given a hard copy of the transcript. A third meeting was scheduled with each of them to sign a transcript release form after they have had the opportunity to review the transcripts.

Reflection on the interviewing process. Overall, all interviews went as planned. Both the participants and I were on time for each interview, with two exceptions where two participants confused date or time of the second interview, which resulted in one participant coming for an interview at an earlier date, and another participant not coming for a scheduled interview. However, these incidents did not have a negative effect on the relationship between the researcher and the participants; and the subsequent interviews went as planned.

As expected, during the first interview participants were more cautious and less expressive, while during the second interview all participants were more relaxed and open, which allowed to discuss the topic in more depth. The fact that despite their busy schedules, six out of seven participants found the time to meet for a second interview and actively helped with

[10] Digital recorder was provided by the Social Sciences Research Laboratories at the University of Saskatchewan. The recordings were deleted from the device right after they were transcribed.

participant recruitment indicated that I was successful in establishing rapport and trust during the first interview.

The age difference between myself and the participants may have had an influence on what type of information they were willing to reveal. In order to compensate for the age difference, I maintained a professional appearance and avoided asking questions on sensitive topics. At the same time, the age difference may have benefited my interviews because the participants might have felt the need to explain their experiences and observations in more detail than they would have if they were speaking with someone their age. In fact, participants often used confirmatory questions during interviews (e.g., "You get it?", "You know what I mean?", "You know?"), which indicated their desire to be understood correctly and their willingness to explain, which was precisely the purpose of the interview. In addition, the shared background of being a foreigner in Canada may have compensated for cultural and age differences, and served as a point of connection between myself and the participants.

3.2. Data Analysis

Following the discussion of the relationship between language and culture (see section 2.1.2), I applied a linguistic analysis of conducted interviews to explore the cultural model of work in Uganda.

In order to describe all structural components of the cultural model of work, a multi-stage analysis was conducted. Quinn (2005) encourages researchers of cultural models to rely both on established analytic procedures but to also be creative and modify these techniques depending on the research questions that need to be addressed. The data analysis that I carried out is partly informed by past research in cognitive and cultural anthropology (Quinn, 2005) and established methods of qualitative data analysis, such as cycle coding, thematic analysis, and the use of conceptually clustered matrices (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2013). But it is also innovative in many aspects due to the lack of clear methodological prescriptions for conducting and analyzing person-centered interviews in studies of cultural models.

The main purpose of the analysis was to discover shared components of the model's public aspect (i.e. the cultural understanding of work common to all individuals in that cultural community). To achieve this purpose I used a technique called "stacking comparable cases",

which entails analyzing individual cases first (within-case analysis), and then analyzing them together (between-case analysis) (Miles et al., 2013, Kindle location 3058). In practice, it means that individual transcripts were analyzed first and each case was then represented in a matrix form; then, all cases were "stacked" into a meta-matrix for further analysis.

Thus, within-case analysis allowed to discover internalized aspects of the model and idiosyncratic understanding of work by each participant. And between-case analysis allowed to determine which aspects of the model were shared by all or the majority of the participants, and, therefore, could potentially constitute the public aspect of the model.

3.2.1. Within-Case Analysis

Within-case analysis was carried out in five steps. The first step involved coding a transcript for four linguistic forms, and the later four steps involved analysis of each of the linguistic forms.

3.2.1.1. Coding for linguistic forms. In order to initially summarize data into smaller segments that would be used for further inferential analysis, I coded each transcript for linguistic forms (Miles et al., 2013). Specifically, the linguistic forms of interest were metaphors, keywords, reasoning, and descriptions of behaviors (see Table 3.3. for definitions). A similar approach was used by Quinn (2005b) and D'Andrade (2005) in their studies of cultural models. Specifically, Quinn relied on the analysis of metaphors and keywords to describe an American cultural model of marriage, while D'Andrade analyzed reasoning to describe an American cultural model of society.

Table 3.3.

Definitions and examples of linguistic forms used for coding

Linguistic Form	Definition and Ways to Recognize	Examples
Metaphors	Phrases that express on thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). People use metaphors to describe or explain something, metaphors may be found in proverbs. Metaphors that do not relate to the topic of interest should be excluded from analysis (e.g., *"spend the day"* is about the perception of time, rather than work).	High-end job, big-shot, bigger reference, get in the good books [of somebody], people on top.
Keywords	Words that name culturally distinctive concepts and/or that arise frequently in talk about a given domain (Quinn, 2005a, p. 71).	Networks, survive, money.

	Keywords are mainly distinguished by a *combination* of frequency of their use and their relation to the topic of discussion. That is, pronouns, propositions, and other grammatically essential words are not considered keywords, even if they frequently appear in the transcript unless they have a distinct contextual importance. At the same time, words that are relatively infrequent (e.g. appear 4-6 times), but are contextually meaningful, may be considered keywords.	
Reasoning	Reasoning occurs when a person tries to explain something to another person "begins with a statement of the proposition to be proven, follows with a sequence of statements as to why the proposition should be believed, and ends with a coda reasserting the original proposition" (Quinn, 2005, p. 63). Triggered by "Why?" questions. The sentence structure will include the following clauses: "if ..., then", "because…", "…, so", "when…, then", "…, but if…".	"You can get your job done **if** you really know somebody good working in a government organization".
Descriptions of practices	Exist in form of descriptive phrases, sentences, and passages; thus, they differ from reasoning mainly in sentence structure. Descriptions of practices and feelings may contain instances of reasoning, metaphors, keywords, and proverbs	"…once you secure your first positions, that's your starting point, then you start meeting people, you are in…like continuously increasing your network".

Because the use of metaphors, keywords, and reasoning is guided by an internalized cultural model, analysis of the ways these linguistic forms are used in speech can reveal its taken-for-granted aspects. I decided to analyze all three linguistic forms in order to collect more evidence that would compensate for the limitations of my sample size and the time constraints that did not allow me to collect more information. Descriptions of behaviors were added to the analysis in order to obtain information on various practices at the workplace that would illustrate how the system of meanings interacts with the behavioral repertoires (practices) within the Ugandan cultural model of work.

Coding procedure. For the purpose of accuracy and validity of the analysis, I coded each individual transcript for one linguistic form at a time: reasoning, metaphors, keywords, and descriptions of behaviors. That is, I went through each transcript at least four times in order to code for each of them separately. I began coding for reasoning, followed by coding for descriptions of behaviors, then coded for metaphors, and finished with coding for keywords. Due to the linguistic complexity of the participants' responses, one segment of text often contained all

four categories at once (e.g., one sentence may include reasoning, a description of behavior, a metaphor, and a keyword). In these cases, coding for one linguistic form did not exclude the possibility of coding the same segment for other linguistic forms. For example, this segment was coded as reasoning: "*And then you guys can say, these are our differences and then if you can iron them out, you can still have good relations, so sometimes that exists, sometimes it doesn't.*" In addition, this segment contains a metaphor *"you can iron them out"*, which was coded as such.

At the same time, complete overlapping of codes was avoided in an effort to reduce redundancy in the data. Further, the coding was done only on linguistic forms that relate to the topic of the study. For example, reasoning about family relations was not coded for further analysis.

Identification of keywords was made on the basis of a combination of their frequency of use and contextual meaning. I used MAXQDA software for qualitative data analysis (1989-2016, VERBI GmbH) to code the transcripts and used its lexical search function to locate potential keywords. Once the coding was finished I exported coded segments into the Excel workbook, which represented a within-case matrix (see Appendix D for an example).

To continue further analysis on each linguistic form separately, I created a separate sheet in an Excel workbook for each of them and proceeded with my analysis.

3.2.1.2. Analysis of keywords. The analysis of keywords consisted of two steps. In the first step, I calculated the frequency of use for each keyword. In the second step, I removed redundancy by grouping synonyms and different forms of one keyword. For example, words like *fear, fears, feared, afraid, scared, fearful,* and *frightened* have the same meaning and were grouped under one keyword "fear" and their frequencies were summed up.

3.2.1.3. Analysis of metaphors. Analysis of metaphors consisted of three steps.

Removing redundancy. In the first step I removed redundancy by grouping metaphors that meet at least one of the following criteria: 1) same metaphors expressed in slightly different form (e.g., *high-level job* and *highest level job*), 2) metaphors that have same meaning, but sound differently (e.g., *top level job* and *high-level job*), 3) metaphors that refer to opposites aspects of one concept (e.g., *high-level jobs* and *low-level jobs).* It is possible to group by printing each

metaphor on a card and sorting the cards (Quinn, 2005); but, because in the current study the number of metaphors was not large (20-40 metaphors per case), I conducted grouping in Excel.

Thematic coding. In the second step, I arranged groups of metaphors obtained in the first step into themes. The theme was determined on the basis of the contextual meaning of the metaphor, this means the themes were descriptive, and not predetermined (Miles et al., 2013). For example, a group of metaphors "*high/low-level position, top position*" may be placed in the theme entitled "Status of work" because these metaphors point to the fact that different positions are associated with different statuses in the society. At the end of the second step, all of the metaphor groups were allocated to appropriate themes in a separate table (see Appendix E for an example).

Inferential analysis. In the third step, inferential analysis of metaphors within each theme was conducted (see Appendix E for an example of the completed analysis). The purpose of the inferential analysis was to infer the cultural knowledge that a certain individual needs to rely on in order to be able to construct a metaphor. D'Andrade (2005) and Quinn (2005b) refer to this underlying set of cultural knowledge as cultural schemas, in my analysis I used the term *assumptions*. Knowledge of these assumptions makes a person capable of using metaphors and, on a broader level, allows one to successfully function in a community. Thus, an assumption can be conceptualized as a description (or content) of the system of meanings that constitutes a certain cultural model.

The logic behind the inferential analysis of metaphors is based on Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) argument that people make sense of vague concepts by conceptualizing them in terms of more concrete clear concepts grounded in their experiences through the use of metaphors (p. 112). Each metaphor then is packed with meaning, which people do not need to explicitly unpack in every instance of communication because of their shared understanding of reality. And to understand this shared reality one needs to analytically infer assumptions behind metaphors, which is done by looking at the literate meaning of the words used in a metaphor and applying this meaning to describe the vague concept of interest.

For example, in the metaphor "*high-level position*", the word *high* indicates the presence of verticality and creates an image of a vertically structured society, where jobs are categorized

on the basis of the position (height) they give to a person in this society. In addition, considering the fact that *high* (or *up*) is associated with *good*, *control*, and *health*, while *low* (or *down*) is associated with *bad*, *being controlled*, and *sickness* (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 15), it can be hypothesized that higher positions are considered to be good because they give more control and have better work conditions, while lower positions are considered to be bad because they take away control and are associated with poor work conditions. These inferences can serve as a basis for several assumptions, such as: 1) Occupations are associated with different social statuses and different amount of control; 2) Occupations that give higher status are not physically demanding and have better work conditions.

The frequency of each metaphor use was not calculated because it largely depends on the issues discussed and individual communication style, which make such frequencies difficult to interpret. From a theoretical standpoint, even a single use of a metaphor indicates that a person who used it had internalized the system of meanings that allowed them to use this metaphor appropriately. At the same time, the fact that a participant used one metaphor five times may simply mean that this participant was more expressive or had more experience with the topic than someone who used the same metaphor only once. Further, some metaphors (e.g., *high-level jobs*) come to be conventionally used in speech, so it would be difficult to argue that the frequency of metaphor use relates to the importance of a certain aspect of the cultural model.

3.2.1.4. Analysis of reasoning. The analysis of reasoning was similar to that of metaphors because its goal was also to understand the assumptions that people use to reason about work. It involved two steps.

Inferential analysis. In the first step, I conducted an inferential analysis of instances of reasoning by explicitly outlining causal links (i.e., logical connections) in the segment and then inferring the assumptions on which these causal links were based.

To illustrate inferential analysis of reasoning, I will use this reasoning segment:

> *"And then there are so many small scale businesses of that sort in the area that employ much of the people. There are not so many public jobs, and given the area, there are not so many people who have gone to school, so most of the people are entrenched in small scale business."*

To prepare this piece for inferential analysis, I first reformulated the statement in order to make the logical connections more explicit: *many people are entrenched in small scale business because there are not many public jobs and not many people have gone to school*. This reformulation can be done in writing, or mentally; it is not necessary in every case because participants differ in the clarity of their reasoning[11]. Once the logical connections in reasoning become more explicit, it was possible to infer assumptions. In this case, the participant assumed that: 1) Education is a means to obtain higher level jobs (note the use of the word "*entrenched*", which is a metaphor that signifies that the reasoning is about low-level jobs). 2) Low-level jobs are for uneducated people. 3). Public jobs require education. 4) Public jobs have higher status than small scale business that uneducated people are involved in. In this way, from one instance of reasoning, several assumptions on different topics could be inferred. That is why, unlike with metaphors, which tend to be based on few assumptions about the same topic, thematic coding occurred after the inferential analysis stage, and not before.

Thematic coding. In the second step, the extracted assumptions were grouped into themes on the basis of their main topic. For example, the four assumptions described above can be grouped into themes "Education" (1st assumption) and "Status of Work" (2nd, 3rd, and 4th assumptions). At the end of this step, all of the extracted assumptions were allocated to their corresponding themes and were represented in a form of a table.

3.2.1.5. Analysis of descriptions of behaviors. Descriptions of behaviors provide information about work-related practices that exist in the community (e.g., rewards, sanctions, problem resolution strategies, hiring practices). Thus, the purpose of the analysis was to categorize descriptions of behaviors into themes that reflect different categories of work practices. *Descriptive coding* was used to arrange different descriptions into appropriate themes (Miles et al., 2013).

The final product of within-case analysis were seven individual case matrices each of which included assumptions (derived from metaphors and reasoning) and practices (derived from

[11] To aid in the process of outlining causal links, D'Andrade (2005) recommends beginning analysis of reasoning from a winnowing stage, where a researcher would record the gist of reasoning prior to inferring assumptions; however, in my analysis this step was not always helpful, and was eventually omitted.

descriptions of behaviors) grouped by corresponding themes and a list of keywords (see Appendix F for an example). Each matrix represented individual understanding of work, which means that it included public and private aspects of the cultural model, along with idiosyncratic components, and therefore, a between-case analysis was conducted to extract the public aspect of the model.

3.2.2. Between-Case Analysis

The purpose of the between-case analysis was to find commonalities in the data obtained from the within-case analysis; these commonalities would represent the hypothetical public aspect of the cultural model of work. The analysis was conducted on keywords, assumptions, and descriptions of practices from individual case matrices. Because individual case matrices contained a large volume of information, the between-case analysis was conducted separately on assumptions, practices, and keywords.

3.2.2.1. Analysis of assumptions. First, I determined the cut-off point on the basis of which a certain assumption would be considered shared. Because a number of topics were not discussed with two out of seven participants[12], the minimum number of cases needed for an assumption to be considered shared was set at five.

In order to understand what assumptions were used by five or more participants, I combined assumptions in their corresponding themes from all seven cases into one Excel workbook, where each sheet contained information on one theme. Assumptions from different cases were colour coded: for instance, all assumptions from participant 1 were white, from participant 2 – blue, and so on (see Figure 3.1).

Then, the assumptions were printed, cut into separate cards, and manually sorted: assumptions that had the same or similar meaning were grouped together into piles. The number of colours in each pile was counted and the assumptions in each pile were summarized and recorded into a final between-case matrix (see Appendix G). Assumptions that were found in only three or four cases and did not meet the inclusion criteria were entered into a separate table, as indicating directions for further research.

[12] Several topics were not discussed with participants 5 and 7 due to their personal time constraints.

Figure 3.1.

Between-Case Analysis of Assumptions: Success Theme

Success						
Hard work leads to success. Individuals who do not make effort to earn money are spoiled.	Leader is responsible for the company's success.	A successful person should invest money into their own business.	Hard work leads to success.	Success is being able to provide for one's family.	Luck influence one's chances of success.	In order to be successful, a worker should be obedient and follow instructions.
Valuing business interests over personal wealth leads to long-lasting business.	A person should do what is expected/right or what they are told. A person should be obedient to be successful.	In order to succeed one has to do what they were ordered to do.	Respect for authority leads to success.	Success is being able to provide for one's daily necessities.	Success means high income. Successful people earn more money.	University education leads to career success.

Note: This is a screenshot of an Excel sheet. One assumption is recorded in each cell. The number of colours corresponds with the number of cases analyzed.

3.2.2.2. Analysis of keywords. Keywords were analyzed on the basis of the combination of the following parameters: 1) Their relation to shared assumptions (should be in line with the discovered assumptions); 2) The number of cases in which each keyword appeared (keywords that appeared in 3 or fewer cases were not included); 3) The frequency of each keyword use (frequently used keywords may point to more important aspects of the model). These criteria were developed based on recommendations given by Quinn (2005b); a similar, but more comprehensive linguistic analysis of keywords was conducted by Wierzbicka (1997).

First, keywords that appeared in more than 3 cases were separated and their frequencies across cases were calculated. Then each word was analyzed in relation to assumptions discovered in the previous stage, and if the word did not contradict discovered assumptions, it was included in the final list of keywords. Each word in the final list of keywords was treated as a part of the conceptual system of the cultural model, and many of them were used as a category to label other components of the cultural model, such as values and emotions.

3.2.2.3. Analysis of descriptions of behaviors. The goal was to illustrate a range of existing practices at the workplace. To do that, descriptions of behaviors and their corresponding themes from all cases were arranged into a table and colour coded (see Figure 3.2.). Then, the most common practices in each theme were summarized; in some cases, unique experiences of participants were included to illustrate the diversity of practices in the workplace. For example, several descriptions of how participants found jobs were summarized in one sentence that outlined major hiring practices in that community. The final summaries and their corresponding themes were entered into the final between-case matrix (see Appendix G).

Figure 3.2.

Between-Case Analysis of Descriptions of Behaviors

5 Demonstration of dissatisfaction	6 Boss's Rewards	7 Boss's Sanctions
o there is always bills to be paid, but when their kids are sent back, or when their parents have come from the villages and now they are in the city, they have to go for treatment, they can't perform; they are just miserable and they are grumpy, and they are dragging,	give them some days off, for instance, that day you are home, let's say weekends or anything, so that they can also have time for themselves, not always tied onto kids and then doing all the chores in the house. So... and you'll be like, have this day for rest, or certain day when I am home, then that can also motivate them. Once in a while you.. it's not like bribing them, but for the fest season, you can buy her or him a good shoes, a dress just to say she is appreciated for the work.	..He would reprimand the person, he would rarely sack an employee, just reprimanding and, you know, warnings... He was an understanding person, just like warning don't do it again, just do this, you are causing so much loss to the company, you're given 2 last warnings, so any sensible person would learn the experience and improve from the past experience and try to better themselves and not to have the same scenario again.
Meaning, the bad worker will either come to work late every day, they will not show up without even calling... and even though they come and they have a situation, instead of saying: "Okay, today I am having a bad day because of this..." There are just going to... because we had so many places... like big place and so many corners; they would just go in one corner and just take a nap.	a special occasion, would they get a day off or a leave? Definitely, a week, yeah...	if someone misses work for this and this in the particular week, they sit him down and like why are you doing this and this, if you don't change and you've been told numerously, then you will be fired. But like I said, that would be for a bigger business.

Note: This is a screenshot of an Excel sheet. One description of behavior is entered in each cell under the corresponding theme. Different colours represent different cases from which the description was obtained.

3.2.3. Applying the Theory of Cultural Models to Map the Cultural Model of Work

At the end of the between-case analysis, I created a between-case matrix that represented shared assumptions, keywords, and practices that presumably constitute the public aspect of the cultural model of work (see Appendix G). At this final stage of between-case analysis, I applied the theory of cultural models to determine how keywords, assumptions, and practices relate to the structural components of the model (i.e., values, regulatory mechanisms, repertoire of behaviors, etc.) and presented these relationships in form of a map.

As Quinn (2005) argues “when one is able to reconstruct the same structure from talk of different people, then this is evidence that they share the understandings embodied in that structure – that these understandings are cultural” (p. 47). Conducted analysis is in line with this assertion because it revealed which linguistic forms were similarly used by participants and how cultural model of work was the basis of this similarity; therefore, it is justified to suggest that this map represented the hypothesized public aspect of the cultural model of work in Uganda.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

4.1. Results of Within-Case Analyses

Seven within-case analyses were completed, resulting in seven within-case matrices. Linguistic coding yielded a total number of 2649 coded segments across all cases, which

included 1663 keywords, 248 metaphors, 432 instances of reasoning, and 298 descriptions of behaviors.

4.1.1. Keywords

A cumulative frequency of keyword use across all cases was 1662 (this number includes repetitive usage of a keyword). The frequency of a single keyword use in one case ranged from 1 to 64. The results of keyword analysis for each case are presented in Table 4.1. A list of keywords for each case is available upon request.

Table 4.1.

Results of Within-Case Analysis: Keywords

	Linguistic coding: Cumulative frequency of use	Step 1: N of keywords after frequency count	Step 2: N of keywords after grouping
Case 1	359	43	31
Case 2	415	38	23
Case 3	270	31	18
Case 4	177	15	13
Case 5	98	16	11
Case 6	220	25	15
Case 7	124	23	16

The frequency of use and the number of keywords found in each case differs for several reasons. First, it was determined by individual communication style and the length of each interview (e.g., the 5th participant was the least expressive among all). And second, it was influenced by the analytic strategy that was used. Specifically, because analysis of the cases was sequential, rather than parallel (i.e., each case was analyzed in full before the analysis of the other began)[13], the emerging hypothesis of the cultural model along with gained experience allowed me to recognize keywords more effectively in the analysis of later cases and avoid coding some words as keywords, just in case they may turn out to be shared keywords.

[13] The cases were analyzed in the following order: case 1, case 2, case 6, case 7, case 3, case 4, and case 5.

4.1.2. Results of Metaphor Analysis

A cumulative frequency of metaphor use across all cases was 248; inferential analysis resulted in a total of 123 assumptions; the number of assumptions inferred in each case ranged from 8 to 31.The results of metaphor analysis for each case are presented in Table 4.2. A list of metaphors and inferred assumptions for each case is available upon request.

Table 4.2.

Results of Within-Case Analysis: Metaphors

	Linguistic coding: Cumulative frequency of use	Step 1: N after grouping	Step 2: N of metaphors in each theme	Step 3: N of assumptions in each theme
Case 1	82	40	Hierarchy (13) Belonging (3) Development (6) Status of work (6), In-group dynamics (10) Autonomy (3)	Hierarchy (6) Belongingness (4) Development (3) Status of work (4) In-group dynamics (8) Autonomy (1)
Case 2	64	36	Hierarchy (9) Belongingness (9) Boss/Leader (7) Status of work (5) In-group dynamics (5) Autonomy (1)	Hierarchy (9) Belongingness (7) Boss/Leader (5) Status of work (4) In-group dynamics (5) Autonomy (1)
Case 3	24	15	Hierarchy (4) Belongingness (1) Status of work (3) In-group dynamics (6) Autonomy (1)	Hierarchy (6) Belongingness (1) Status of work (5) In-group dynamics (7) Autonomy (1)
Case 4	20	11	Hierarchy (6) Status of work (1) In-group dynamics (4)	Hierarchy (5) Status of work (1) In-group dynamics (3)
Case 5	16	13	Hierarchy (4) Belongingness (4) Boss/Leader (2) Status of work (1) In-group dynamics (1)	Hierarchy (4) Belongingness (2) Boss/Leader (2) Status of work (1) In-group dynamics (1)
Case 6	32	18	Hierarchy (3) Belongingness (5) Boss/Leader (3) Status of work (2) In-group dynamics (1) Cultural change (3)	Hierarchy (2) Belongingness (6) Boss/Leader (3) Status of work (3) In-group dynamics (2)

				Cultural change (2)
Case 7	10	23	Hierarchy (3) Belongingness (1) Status of work (3)	Hierarchy (3) Belongingness (2) Status of work (4)

4.1.3. Reasoning

A total of 432 segments of reasoning were extracted from all cases. Inferential analysis of all cases resulted in a total of 914 assumptions, which were grouped into 16 themes. Results for each case are presented in Table 4.3. A list of reasoning segments and inferred assumptions for each case is available upon request.

Table 4.3.

Results of Within-Case Analysis: Reasoning

	Linguistic coding: N of coded segments	Step 1: N of inferred assumptions	Step 2: N of assumptions in each theme
Case 1	92	203	Hierarchy (17); Belongingness (19); Boss/Leader (24); Gender (10); Success (18); In-group dynamics (32); Status of Work (25); Money (14); Emotions (11); Education (11); Respect (5); Trust (12); People (2); Exposure (3).
Case 2	73	139	Hierarchy (16); Belongingness (12); Boss/Leader (23); Gender (5); Success (7); In-group dynamics 8); Status of Work (17); Money (7); Motivation (15); Emotions (9); Education (5); Respect (8); Trust (4); Autonomy (1); People (1); Exposure (1);
Case 3	75	145	Hierarchy (14); Belongingness (11); Boss/Leader (22); Gender (4); Success (10); In-group dynamics (17); Status of Work (30); Money (2); Motivation (7); Emotions (9); Education (6); Respect (4); Trust (9).
Case 4	58	116	Hierarchy (16); Belongingness (9); Boss/Leader (15); Gender (3); Success (7); In-group dynamics (18); Status of Work (19); Money (2); Motivation (9); Emotions (4); Education (3); Respect (8); Trust (3).
Case 5	34	91	Hierarchy (16); Belongingness (6); Boss/Leader (13); Gender (3); Success (8); In-group dynamics (5); Status of Work (11); Money (2); Motivation (3); Emotions (6); Education (6); Respect (6).
Case 6	69	135	Hierarchy (18); Belongingness (14); Boss/Leader (12); Gender (8); Success (9); In-group dynamics (19); Status of Work (22); Money (10); Motivation

			(4); Emotions (4); Education (5); Respect (4); Trust (4); Exposure (2).
Case 7	31	85	Hierarchy (14); Belongingness (4); Boss/Leader (12); Gender (1); Success (3); In-group dynamics (3); Status of Work (11); Money (3); Motivation (12); Emotions (5); Education (5); Respect (6); Trust (5); Exposure (1).

4.1.4. Descriptions of Behaviors

A total of 298 descriptions of behaviors were extracted from seven cases and grouped into 14 themes. Results for each case are presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4.

Results of Within-Case Analysis: Descriptions of Behaviors

	Linguistic coding: N of coded segments	Step 1: N of descriptions in each theme
Case 1	63	Fostering Belongingness (5); Communication Channels (8) Interpersonal Relationships (2); Demonstrating Authority (1); Demonstrating Dissatisfaction (2); Boss's Rewards (2); Formal/Informal Behavior (7); Hiring & Promotion (9); Work Environment (7); Roles and Procedures (7); Problem & Conflict Resolution (6); Cultural Change (7).
Case 2	66	Fostering Belongingness (2); Interpersonal Relationships (5); Demonstrating Authority (7); Demonstrating Dissatisfaction (6); Boss's Sanctions (2); Hiring & Promotion (5); Work Environment (20); Roles and Procedures (15); Problem & Conflict Resolution (2); Cultural Change (3).
Case 3	43	Fostering Belongingness (1); Communication Channels (2) Interpersonal Relationships (2); Demonstrating Authority (1); Demonstrating Dissatisfaction (3); Boss's Rewards (1); Boss's Sanctions (2); Peer Support (2); Formal/Informal Behavior (1); Hiring & Promotion (3); Work Environment (12); Roles and Procedures (8); Problem & Conflict Resolution (2); Cultural Change (2).
Case 4	44	Communication Channels (1) Interpersonal Relationships (3); Demonstrating Authority (1); Demonstrating Dissatisfaction (7); Peer Support (1); Formal/Informal Behavior (2); Hiring & Promotion (8); Work Environment (3); Roles and Procedures (11); Problem & Conflict Resolution (1); Cultural Change (6).
Case 5	18	Interpersonal Relationships (2); Demonstrating Authority (1); Demonstrating Dissatisfaction (1); Peer Support (1); Hiring & Promotion (3); Work Environment (4); Roles and Procedures (7).
Case 6	43	Interpersonal Relationships (3); Demonstrating Dissatisfaction (2); Boss's Sanctions (1); Peer Support (2); Hiring & Promotion (3); Work

		Environment (18); Roles and Procedures (10); Problem & Conflict Resolution (2); Cultural Change (2).
Case 7	21	Fostering Belongingness (1); Communication Channels (1) Interpersonal Relationships (1); Demonstrating Authority (1); Demonstrating Dissatisfaction (2); Hiring & Promotion (1); Work Environment (6); Roles and Procedures (4); Problem & Conflict Resolution (1); Cultural Change (4).

4.2. Results of Between-Case Analysis

As mentioned before, the results of the between-case analysis were represented in form of between-case matrix containing three parts: assumptions, keywords, and practices which were grouped by themes and by the number of cases in which they appeared (see Appendix G). In this section, I will first summarize the content of each part of this matrix (see full content in the Appendices H and I), and, second, describe the map of the cultural model that resulted from arranging the content of between-case matrix into relevant structural components of the model.

4.2.1. Assumptions

Out of 16 themes containing a total of 1037 assumptions that were found at the within-case stage of the analysis, only 12 themes with a total of 63 assumptions were shared by five or more participants. This means, 4 themes were eliminated at this stage because they were more likely to reflect an idiosyncratic understanding of work. The number of assumptions reduced dramatically (from 1037 to 63) not only because some were eliminated, but also because redundancy was removed. The final list of assumptions (see Appendix H) represents the cultural knowledge that Ugandans presumably share.

The first theme “Vertical Structure: Power & Authority” contained eight assumptions that described vertical structure of the workplace in Uganda, including distribution of power, authority, and statuses at the workplace. The second theme “Boss & Vertical Relations” contained nine assumptions about the role of boss and the relationships between boss and subordinates. The third theme “In-Group Dynamics and Belongingness” contained ten assumptions that described relationships between coworkers, as well as the need to belong and its role in the workplace. The fourth theme “Status of Work” contained ten assumptions about the general understanding of work and statuses associated with different types of work Uganda. The fifth theme “Success” contained five assumptions about the meaning of success. The sixth

themes “Gender” contained two assumptions on gender norms and status of women and men at the workplace. The seventh theme “Emotions” contained five assumptions about the role of emotions in the workplace. The eighth themes “Motivation” contained four assumptions on different motivating factors at the workplace. The remaining four themes: “Money” (3 assumptions), “Trust” (3 assumptions), “Respect” (2 assumptions), and “Education” (2 assumptions), described the meaning and role of these concepts at the workplace.

The detailed description of assumptions within each theme is available in the Appendix H; these assumptions were used to construct the hypothetical cultural model of work in Uganda that will be presented in section 4.3.

4.2.2. Practices

Fourteen (14) themes that contained 298 descriptions of behaviors in the within-case analysis were summarized into 6 themes, each of which contained a short summary of major workplace practices encountered by the participants. The first theme “Hiring and Job Search” describes how people in Uganda look for work. The second theme “Workplace Environment” describes conditions that shape Ugandan labour market and provides examples of low, middle, and high status jobs. The third theme, “Roles and Procedures” describes how roles are distributed and what procedures are followed at the workplace. The fourth theme “Boss’s Behaviors” summarizes practices that bosses use to build relationships with their subordinates and the types of sanctions and rewards that are commonly employed. The fifth theme “Conflict and Problem Resolution” describes how workers show dissatisfaction and resolve conflicts at the workplace. And the sixth theme “Cultural Change” outlines the changes that occurred in Ugandan work practices.

On one hand, shared practices illustrate how cultural knowledge plays out in real life, and on the other, new uncommon practices reflect the ongoing cultural transformation in the Ugandan workplace. All themes and corresponding descriptions of practices are presented in Appendix I; these practices were used to construct a hypothetical cultural model of work that will be presented in section 4.3.

4.2.3. Keywords

The final list of keywords (see Table 4.5.) was determined on the basis of the frequency of keyword use in each case and between cases and their relation to inferred assumptions and practices and to one another. Sixteen (16) final keywords presumably point to significant aspects of the Ugandan cultural model of work and are considered as a piece of evidence that supports our hypothesis of this model.

Table 4.5.

Results of Between-Case Analysis: Keywords Grouped by the Number of Cases in which They Appeared.

7 cases:	**6 cases:**	**5 cases:**	**4 cases:**
boss (228)	comfortable (39)	fear (29)	survival (23)
money (200)	hard work (34)	office job (49)	power (30)
education (151)		trust (36)	safety (17)
respect (145)		professional (17)	formal (40)
family (133)			street job (8)

Note: Frequency of use of each word is indicated in parentheses.

When talking about the senior manager, participants used the word *boss*, and despite the fact that only 4 out of 23 questions were about the boss, this keyword was the most frequently used in their speech. First, this keyword confirms my inference that the boss has a central place in a Ugandan workplace and has the power to influence all aspects of work. Second, the word *boss* transmits an image of an authoritative person, who emphasizes power difference and obedience, which is in line with inferred assumptions on this topic. And finally, the word *boss* brings an image of a male, which is in line with inferred assumptions of male dominance at the workplace, as well as descriptions of practices, which showed that female top managers are a relatively new occurrence in Uganda.

The use of keyword *family* (which was grouped with *relatives*) points to the fact that the cultural model of work is closely connected with that of a family. First, this keyword is in line with the assumption that work is seen as a means of fulfilling one's family responsibilities, which have priority over work responsibilities; the key role of family is also illustrated by the proliferation of nepotism in the Ugandan society. Second, it confirms the importance of

belonging and trust at the workplace, as participants often compared an ideal workplace to a family, and is illustrated by practices that allow coworkers to participate in important events of each other's lives. Third, it is in line with the assumption that family responsibilities influence individual performance at work and should be taken into account during performance evaluation.

Keywords like *education, money, respect, trust, hard work,* and *power* point to values that are present in the cultural model; they are in line with inferred assumptions. Note that *money* is the second most frequently used keyword, which is in line with my inference that work is predominantly seen as a means of earning money. Keywords like *survival, fear, safety* and *comfortable* point to predominant feelings and needs that individuals experience at the workplace, and are also in line with inferred assumptions (e.g., boss elicits fear, work is a means of survival).

Finally, words like *professional, street job, formal,* and *office job* refer to the concepts of work and job. Specifically, to the fact that jobs are divided on the basis of their professionalism and level of formality, whereby *street jobs* are less formalized and unprofessional, which gives them lower status, while *office jobs* are seen as more formalized and professional, which gives them higher status. Such categorization is in line with assumptions, which indicate that different jobs are associated with different behaviors (formal/informal) and social statuses (high/low).

4.3. Hypothesized Cultural Model of Work in Uganda

Although a collection of assumptions, keywords, and practices is informative, it does not provide a coherent view of the cultural model of work because it is not connected to the theory of cultural models. Therefore, to articulate Ugandan cultural model of work, these three components were analyzed in regards to the structure of the model and its components: 1) values, 2) conceptual system, which includes categories and concepts, 3) regulatory mechanisms, which include norms, emotions, rewards, and sanctions, 4) repertoire of behaviors, and 5) motivational forces.

I begin the description of the model from the concepts of work and job, then proceed to a discussion of the structure of the model, and finish with a discussion of motivational forces embedded in the model. It is important to keep in mind that the hypothesis of the cultural model

presented here is based solely on the data obtained, which means it is likely to reflect only a portion of the public aspect of the actual cultural model of work.

4.3.1. The Concepts of Work and Job

Work and *job* are two related concepts that refer to different activities in Ugandan cultural model. Work is a broader concept that defines an activity by means of which a person sustains livelihood and fulfills one's responsibility to provide for one's family; thus, work can be both paid and unpaid. Every normal person is expected to work; people who do not work are perceived as abnormal (e.g., lazy, criminals).

Job is a type of work, which means it is a narrower concept in a sense that all jobs require work, but not all work can be called a job. It is expected that a job is an activity outside of one's home by means of which a person can earn money and achieve higher status in the society. Therefore, one's job defines who they are and their status in the society, and is a source of pride and self-worth. A *good job* is such that brings more money and gives higher status. The status of a job is determined on the basis of the level of education needed for the job, behaviors and work conditions the job entails, people one is associated with, and the amount of income and control over others it gives.

Based on this conceptualization, there are two major categories of jobs:

1. *Low-level jobs*, also referred to as *street jobs* and *unprofessional jobs*. The job is categorized as low level if it: 1) does not require education and special skills, 2) lacks formal rules and procedures (e.g., wearing suit, sitting in an office, formal application process), 3) entails working in harsh conditions or physically demanding labour, 4) entails association with low status individuals, 5) does not pay well, and 6) does not give power over others. People who work in these jobs have low status in the society. Low-level jobs are means of survival.

2. *High-level jobs*, also referred to as *office jobs* and *professional jobs*. The job is categorized as high level if: 1) it requires education and special skills, 2) it has formal rules and procedures, 3) it entails being in an office, 4) it entails associating with high status individuals, 5) it pays well, 6) it gives power over others. People who work in these jobs have high status in the society. High-level jobs are means of achieving higher status in a society.

Based on these criteria, jobs are placed at different locations on the continuum from low to high status. For example, a maid in a house of a rich person or an expatriate will have higher status than a maid in an ordinary Ugandan house.

4.3.2. Structure of the Cultural Model of Work

The foundation of the cultural model is made up of cultural knowledge about the structure of the workplace. This model has a tri-dimensional structure, where vertical and horizontal dimensions reflect relations determined by one's status at the workplace hierarchy, while a third dimension reflects relations determined by one's group belonging. Because these dimensions interact, individuals at the workplace base their behavior on their knowledge and place in each of these dimensions. In other words, individual acts as a person of a certain status with a certain amount of power and authority, but also as a member of a certain group, with which he or she identifies.

4.3.2.1. Hierarchy: vertical and horizontal dimensions. Vertical and horizontal dimensions contain cultural knowledge of the workplace hierarchy and are based on the following set of **cultural values**: *power, authority, respect, money, education, obedience,* and *hard work.* These values shape parameters of the hierarchy and are supported by the enactment of this hierarchy in everyday life.

Cultural values can be categorized into terminal and instrumental, a classification suggested by Rokeach (1973). In this dimension, *power, authority,* and *respect* are terminal values, which are construed as end-goals that individuals strive to achieve. *Money, education, obedience,* and *hard work* are instrumental values, which are construed as means of achieving the terminal values. In this model, power, authority, and respect serve as parameters that people use to assign statuses in the hierarchy: people who have more of each value are given higher status, and people with equal amounts of each value are given equal status.

Power is understood as control over environment and resources; *power* can be achieved through the accumulation of *money* or a job position that gives control over resources (e.g., ability to hire/fire, control over salaries). And *money* can be achieved through *hard work.*

Authority is a legitimate right to give orders, make decisions, and freely express own opinions. Sources of legitimate authority are older age, being a male, superior knowledge and

experience, and position of power. Authority can be gained through *education* or a job position that gives control over others. And *education* can be achieved through *hard work*; however, education does not have value in and of itself. Power and authority are interrelated because one may lead to another and they both allow workers to have control over others at the workplace. However, they differ in that authority is associated with *respect*.

Respect refers to recognition of individual's authority through *obedience* and privileged treatment. Respect is a terminal value because it allows individuals to distinguish their status in the hierarchy: individuals who receive more respect have higher status and vice versa. *Obedience* is an instrumental value that individuals in authority enforce to attain respect.

Terminal values serve as a basis of the concept of *success*. To have a successful career means to work in a high-status job, which gives power, authority, and respect. And a way to successful career lies through instrumental values of education, obedience, and hard work; with money being both a way to and an outcome of success (in this sense, money can be seen as a terminal value). Because education is seen as a means of reaching higher status through career growth, education that does not lead to higher status has low value.

Vertical dimension of the model. Vertical dimension reflects relationships between individuals with different statuses in the workplace hierarchy.

An individual's status in the workplace hierarchy is determined by his or her job title, which is associated with a certain amount of power and authority. Power is unevenly distributed in the workplace hierarchy, with individuals at the highest level having the most amount of power, and individuals at the lowest levels having the least amount. Power here is understood as access to and control over resources (e.g., money) and other people (e.g., being able to fire others).

In addition to power, people with higher status have authority over those with lower status, which gives them the right to give orders, make decisions, and express opinions freely. In contrast, people with lower status do not have the right to give orders, make decisions, and are restricted in how much they can voice their opinions. Apart from higher status, individuals can derive authority from being a male or being older than others and, to a lesser extent, from having a higher level of education, experience or unique skills. These sources of authority may

sometimes be in conflict with the actual status of the person in the workplace; for example, an appointed supervisor may be younger than subordinates, which may diminish this person's authority and cause reluctance to follow his or her orders.

Because to respect someone means to acknowledge their authority and higher status, individuals at different levels of the hierarchy receive a different amount of respect. One's status can be inferred from the amount of respect they receive, therefore, failure to pay due respect is a serious transgression.

People can move from one level of hierarchy to another with the help of powerful individuals who change their status by promoting them to higher positions, providing more access to resources, or delegating authority. In fact, one's relationship with seniors impacts the amount of power they have at a workplace, whereby those who have close relationships with seniors enjoy privileges that are not accessible to others at the same level of the hierarchy. Another way to move higher in the workplace hierarchy is through advancing one's level of education.

Categories and concepts. Two major categories that describe individuals at different levels of the hierarchy are *boss* and *worker*. Boss is a person at the top of the hierarchy, who is expected to be the most powerful, authoritative, and respected individual in the workplace. Boss's authority can be diminished, so the difference in status between the boss and workers should be preserved. A worker is a person with a low amount of power and authority, and a good worker is obedient and respectful.

Regulatory mechanisms. Regulatory mechanisms serve to maintain the vertical dimension of the model by regulating individual behavior through emotions, norms, sanctions, and rewards.

Emotions. One emotion that was found to have a strong regulatory power in Ugandan cultural model of work was *fear*. Individuals in this culture are socialized to associate respect for authority with feelings of fear. Fear serves to encourage obedience and preserve the authority of individuals in the top levels of the hierarchy.

Norms. The following norms were found to regulate relations in vertical dimension:

1. Workers should not openly question knowledge, decisions, and skills of their authority figures.
2. Workers should obey orders given by their authority figures.
3. Workers should demonstrate respect to their authority figures.
4. Workers should not initiate informal interpersonal relationships with their authority figures.
5. The needs of authority figures should be prioritized over those of the workers.
6. Workers should abide by rules and regulations set by their boss.
7. A man should be the main provider for the family.

Sanctions and rewards. As the most powerful figure in the hierarchy, the boss administers sanctions and rewards. To punish, the boss may give warning, reprimand, administer a monetary penalty, reduce or cut part of the salary, or terminate the employee. To reward, the boss may give bonuses, time off, and vacations, or organize appreciation dinners.

Repertoire of behaviors. The vertical dimension of the cultural model prescribes a set of behaviors or practices, which, in turn, support this dimension.

1. As the most powerful person at the workplace, a boss commonly sets rules, approves new hires, terminations, leaves and vacation, and controls salaries and other funds in the organization. For example, the boss may decide to give an allowance to one subordinate and to cut part of the salary of another without needing the permission of other people in the organization. Boss demonstrates power through explicit demonstration of wealth (e.g., the boss has an expensive house and a car).

2. As the most authoritative figure, the boss makes final decisions, sets goals, gives instructions, and divides responsibilities during regular meetings and personal interactions with employees. The boss delegates authority by assigning team leaders. Authority of the boss is emphasized through the organization of office space and internal communication. Boss has a separate office, and in some cases, may be inaccessible to individuals at lower levels. A hierarchical system of communication is in place, whereby individuals need to contact lower management before reaching the higher management.

3. Subordinates demonstrate respect for the boss by addressing him or her formally (Sir or Madam) and giving him or her privileges at the workplace (e.g., serve the boss first, give the boss the right of way).

4. Male authority is supported by practices of assigning physically demanding and leadership roles to men, while women work in middle (team leader) and low level (e.g., tea girls, maids) jobs, or are expected to be housewives.

Horizontal dimension of the model. Horizontal dimension reflects relationships between people with equal status at the workplace hierarchy.

Relationships between workers of equal status are based on the fact that they do not have power and authority over one another unless such authority was delegated to one of them by the boss. Therefore, self-promoting behaviors that would hint at attempts to rise above the group or behaviors that can be expected from a person in authority are unacceptable. For example, a person who keeps to themselves or tries to take initiative by giving instructions or unsolicited advice will be negatively perceived by coworkers.

Categories and concepts. The category *co-worker* is used to describe individuals who work together and have equal status. The category *team* is used to describe a group of coworkers who work to achieve a common goal. Each team member is responsible only for the work they were assigned to do. It is expected that work will be equally distributed among team members of equal status.

Regulatory mechanisms. Regulatory mechanisms serve to maintain the horizontal dimension of the model by regulating individual behavior through norms, sanctions, and rewards.

Norms. The following norms regulate behaviors of coworkers with equal status:

1. Coworkers should not assume authority over one another (e.g., give orders or assign tasks) unless the boss has given them the authority to do so.
2. Each member of the team should equally invest into the group's goal by carrying out their responsibilities.
3. Coworkers at the same level should not present themselves as better than other members of the group.

Sanctions and rewards. Coworkers do not have access to formal sanctions and rewards and use informal ways of reinforcing norms. Common sanctions include exclusion from group interactions, covert aggression (e.g., gossip, sabotage). Rewards include loyalty, help, and positive feedback.

Repertoire of behaviors. Behaviors and practices that are prescribed by and support horizontal dimension include:

1. Informal communication style between colleagues, who typically joke with each other and address each other by their first names.

2. Coworkers with equal status typically share office space and can directly communicate with one another.

3. It is common for coworkers to join each other for lunch or tea during breaks.

4.3.2.2. Belonging: the third dimension of the model. The third dimension of the model contains cultural knowledge that structures relationships between individuals based on their group membership. In this dimension, individual operates as a part of a group and derives a feeling of *belongingness* from existing interpersonal relationships based on *trust*. *Belonging* is a terminal **value** that underlies this dimension, and *trust* is an instrumental value.

Trust is a basis of interpersonal relationships between individuals at the workplace, regardless of their place in the hierarchy. *Trust* is established by getting to know another person and their immediate social network, which serves as a guarantee of the person's trustworthiness. *Trust* is earned through dedication to work for and to invest in the group. Thus, a person who is not motivated to invest in the group cannot be trusted.

To *belong* to the group means to be connected with its members through interpersonal relationships, to be loyal to its members, to support them emotionally and financially, to invest in the group, and to prioritize the needs of this group over the needs of other groups. Interpersonal relationships are formed through conversations about personal interests and family background and through regular interaction on various topics unrelated to work. The quality of communication is an indicator of the quality of relationships between coworkers, where absence or low frequency of communication indicates a problem.

At the workplace, a person can identify with a smaller group of co-workers who work in the same department, or with the organization as a whole. Apart from identity based on workplace membership, a person typically identifies with other social groups, such as family or tribe. As one person may simultaneously belong to several social groups, responsibilities towards these groups influence individual's priorities and behavior at the workplace.

Categories and concepts. The main category used to distinguish between people in this dimension is *part of the group*. A person who is part of the group experiences the feeling of belongingness, engages in behaviors that demonstrate a desire to belong to the group, and is accepted as a member of the group.

Regulatory mechanisms. Regulatory mechanisms serve to maintain the third dimension include emotions, norms, sanctions and rewards.

Emotions. Individuals are encouraged to strive to become accepted as part of the group by the positive feeling of belongingness.

Norms. The following norms regulate how a person should behave as part of a group:

1. One should be loyal to the group one is a part of (e.g., one should not report on coworkers, should not leak sensitive information to rival organizations).
2. One should help and support members of the group one is part of.
3. One should put interests of the group ahead of own interests and of those of other groups.
4. One should take care of the needs of members of the group one is part of.
5. Individuals who have access to resources should use their power to help other members of the group to which they belong.

Sanctions and rewards. Sanctions for violation of loyalty norms may be formal (warning, termination), depending on the type of transgression. The most common informal sanction is exclusion from the group (e.g., refusal to communicate, exclusion from informal activities). Rewards include emotional and financial support from peers, help with work-related and unrelated tasks.

Repertoire of behaviors. The third dimension prescribes a repertoire of behaviors, failure to engage in which communicates refusal to be part of the group and is sanctioned by the group members.

1. To demonstrate willingness to belong, individuals at the workplace engage in informal conversations and share personal information about themselves and their families. For example, a boss may inquire about the family of a worker, who was experiencing problems at work.

2. It is a common practice for the organization to be involved in the major ceremonies through financial contributions and help with arrangements for the event. For example, the boss and co-workers may attend funeral of the employee's relative to offer emotional support;

3. Revolving funds and emergency funds are a common occurrence in Ugandan workplace. For example, co-workers may agree to make a monthly contribution to a revolving fund, money which is then given to a different group member each month. While revolving funds are common between coworkers, senior management may be involved in the organization of emergency funds, money which is available to a person in urgent need.

4. Friends and family members commonly help with finding employment, which relates to the norm that member of one group should help each other.

4.3.3. Motivational Forces

Motivational forces embedded into the cultural model refer to culturally conditioned goals and motives that make a person go to work every day and that are able to have an effect on the level of person's work engagement and productivity.

The first set of culturally determined motivators are the terminal values of authority, power, and respect which are associated with high status in society and which individuals strive to achieve through their work. Money is an instrumental value that serves as a motivator as well; because money is a valuable resource that gives control over one's own life and a sense of security, it is one of the strongest motivators in the Ugandan cultural model.

The second set of culturally determined motivators are the feelings of fear and a sense of belonging. As the most powerful individual in the workplace hierarchy, the boss has control over employee's motivation. Bosses that emphasize vertical dimension of the cultural model motivate

employees through fear, and bosses that emphasize the third dimension motivate employees through the feelings of belonging.

The feeling of fear for authority is culturally conditioned to be associated with the idea of respect. Such association helps to enforce obedience and preserve the status quo of individuals on the top of the hierarchy because it prevents individuals in the lower levels from actively trying to challenge it. For instance, a worker will not criticize the boss for the fear of being reprimanded, but also for the fear of being considered disrespectful. As an extrinsic motivator, fear reduces productivity and the quality of communication between individuals at different levels of workplace hierarchy.

The feeling of belonging is culturally conditioned to be associated with that of security and trust. The extent to which individual will invest in the organization and prioritize its needs over those of coworkers, family, friends, and tribe will depend on the degree to which they identify with and feel belonging to their organization, as a whole, and to their colleagues, in particular. Thus, one's motivation to invest in the organization and productivity are determined by the sense of belonging, which is an intrinsic motivator. In the absence of belonging, employees are motivated by fear and personal goals, which leads to mistrust and damages productivity.

The proposed hypothesis for the public aspect of the cultural model of work in Uganda represents a system of knowledge and practices that are intersubjectively shared by the members of this cultural community. In the process of socialization, individuals adopt these practices and internalize this knowledge, which becomes idiosyncratically transformed by the personality and experiences of a particular individual. Therefore, it can be expected that people may enact this model in different ways by prioritizing different values and structural dimensions of the model. For example, because this model concentrates power in the hands of the boss, some bosses may be inclined to abuse their power more than others.

Each dimension of the model serves to organize and structure behavior at the workplace and influences workplace climate, motivation, and productivity. For example, vertical dimension shapes the flow of information, which travels sequentially from one level to another and creates a natural communication barrier between individuals at different levels of the hierarchy. The

model's dimensions interact when one simultaneously acts as a person with a certain status in a hierarchy and as a member of a certain group. For example, a boss may use his or her position in the vertical structure to motivate employees by creating the feelings of belonging to the organization among coworkers. In this case, while preserving authority, a boss may engage in behaviors expected from in-group members, such as establishing interpersonal relationships (e.g., join the workers for lunch) and taking care of the workers' needs (e.g., help to pay school fees for their children).

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

In the following sections, I begin by discussing the hypothesized cultural model in the context of existing research on African and Ugandan cultures. Then, I discuss practical implications of the results for addressing the problem of immigrant unemployment and low wages. Finally, to inform other researchers, I also discuss the benefits and challenges of applying the theory of cultural models, person-centered interviewing, and linguistic data analysis to studies of cultural models and outline directions for further inquiry.

5.1. Hypothesized Cultural Model in the Context of Existing Research

I begin this section by comparing results of the current study to the studies of African cultural models by Hewlett et al., (2011) and Stebleton (2012), which were discussed earlier. Then, I discuss how hypothesized cultural model fits in the context of existing research on Ugandan culture.

5.1.1. Research of African Cultures

To reiterate, Hewlett et al., (2011) distinguished foundational schemas for hunter-gatherer and farmer societies in the Congo basin (Central Africa). It appears that my findings closely align with the three foundational schemas of farmer societies: gender and age hierarchy, communalism, and material aspect to social relationships. Particularly, gender and age hierarchy, characterized by male dominance and expectations of obedience and respect for elders, were properties of the vertical dimension of the proposed model. Communalism, characterized by prioritizing the needs of the community over personal needs, was the property of the third dimension of the model. And material aspect to interpersonal relationships is evident in the value of money, expectations of financial support for in-group members, and such practices as

revolving funds and contributions for ceremonies. The fact that these foundational schemas are present in Ugandan culture can be explained by the fact that, historically, the tribes that make up current Uganda were predominantly farmers, and the country still remains agricultural.

Stebleton (2012) explored the meaning of work among immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. And his conclusion that these immigrants viewed work as an important way of supporting their extended families back home aligns with the results of the current study. Particularly, the model includes conceptualization of work as a means of fulfilling one's family responsibilities. However, contrary to Stebleton's (2012) conclusions, the current study did not find that women did not distinguish between paid and unpaid work. Instead, both men and women from Uganda appear to distinguish unpaid work from paid job.

5.1.2. Studies of Ugandan Culture

Little research has been done specifically on Ugandan cultural view of work, however, because cultural models in one cultural community overlap and share foundation, it is justified to discuss my findings in the context of research on cultural norms and practices in the employment sector as well as in relation to such social problems as corruption and power theft.

Wilder (2015) conducted a comparative study of Ugandan and American communication styles at the workplace, and her findings closely align with the results of the current research. Wilder (2015) found that Ugandan cultural view of work is characterized by high power distance, respect for authority, and value of obedience, which supports the proposed vertical and horizontal dimensions of the cultural model. Wilder's (2015) findings also support my hypothesis that age is one of the sources of authority at the workplace; for instance, she described that several Ugandans in her study expressed frustration about having a younger manager.

In line with my findings that the status difference needs to be preserved in order for the boss to maintain authority, Wilder reported that Ugandans see egalitarian treatment by the boss as a sign of weakness and expect the boss to exhibit authoritative leadership style by providing clear tasks and guidance to the subordinates. Wilder (2015) also describes various norms and practices that serve to show respect for seniors, such as reluctance to openly question authority and use of different greeting styles for individuals with different statuses in the hierarchy. These

findings support my hypothesis that respect serves to acknowledge authority and status at the workplace hierarchy.

Finally, Wilder (2015) reported that Ugandans are reluctant to stand out in a crowd and express opposing views or unsolicited opinions because it may offend others in the group. This serves as evidence in favor of my hypothesis that, at a horizontal level, it is considered inappropriate to assume authority over peers and to present oneself as better than peers.

Support for some aspects of the hypothesized third dimension of the model comes from a study of socio-cultural reasons behind corruption in Uganda (Bukuluki, 2013). The author came to the conclusion that social expectation embedded in the collectivistic worldview of Ugandan communities, decriminalizes corruption and puts it in a positive light, as a form of maximization of social capital. Bukuluki (2014) argues that Ugandans see corruption, such as helping a relative or a friend find a job, as a form of investment into one's family or community and actually expect and encourage such behavior. These findings are in line with my conceptualization of the third dimension of the model, which emphasizes individual's responsibilities towards the group they belong to and reward behaviors that prioritize in-group members over out-group members.

Bukuluki (2014) suggests that these expectations stem from Ugandan view of self as inseparable from the community, which explains why sanctions found in the model, such as exclusion from group activities and refusal to communicate, are effective at the workplace. Further, Bukuluki's (2014) argument that Ugandan culture encourages suppression of self in favor of group interests is in line with my finding that individuals at the workplace are expected to prioritize interests of the group, over self-interests and those of other groups (e.g., reporting on colleagues is discouraged). Bukuluki (2014) also found support for the gender norm that was included in the hypothesized model; namely, the author explained the prevalence of corruption among men by existing norm that prescribes men to take on the role of the main provider for the family.

The importance of trust in interpersonal relationships between individuals at different levels of hierarchy is supported by several studies (Bukuluki, 2014; Never, 2015; Wilder, 2015). For example, Never (2015) in his study of social norms and power theft in Uganda, found that lack of trust for authorities was one of the reasons for power theft. In addition, his finding that

bulk metering groups were more coherent and long-lasting when the group members knew and trusted each other, supports my hypothesis that trust is construed as a basis for productive interpersonal relationships at the workplace. Wilder (2015) also provides support for the importance of trust building in Ugandan culture, explaining that Ugandan businessmen tend to spend a large amount of time socializing and building interpersonal relationships, which are viewed as key to successful work relations.

Support for hypothesized meaning of work is provided by Urwick and Kisa (2014), who investigated moonlighting culture among science teachers in Uganda. Moonlighting culture refers to the practice of being employed at several schools simultaneously, as well as engaging in private tutoring. The authors concluded that pride and sense of professional identity that teachers used to derive from work are being slowly overpowered by the need to earn money, which forces the teachers to become entrepreneurial and compromise the quality of their work in favor of increased income. These findings support my hypothesis that work is conceptualized not only as a source of identity and pride but also as a source of income. The existence of moonlighting culture serves as evidence that money and social status, rather than a sense of professional fulfillment or self-actualization, are motivators in the Ugandan cultural model of work. Further, in agreement with my argument that environment has a direct effect on emerging cultural norms and practices, Urwick and Kisa (2014) argue that socio-economic situation characterized by the shortage of teachers, low wages, and high living costs fuel the culture of moonlighting.

Overall, analysis of existing literature provided partial support for the key aspects of the hypothesized cultural model of work. This suggests that the theory of cultural models has a significant methodological value that enables researchers to study cultures of the communities they have never been exposed to through interviews with native representatives.

5.2. Implications for Labour Market Integration of Ugandan Immigrants in Canada

Labour market integration outcomes of any group of immigrants depend not only on their cultural background but also on the background of their Canadian employers. Therefore, in order to discuss specific labour market integration barriers and solutions, one needs to be aware of the cultural models of work of a particular immigrant group and of their Canadian hosts. Because I do not have information on Canadian cultural model of work, in this section I am not be able to

answer why exactly the current employment and wage gap exists. Instead, I discuss how my findings may be useful to Canadian employers in hiring Ugandan immigrants and to immigrant-serving organizations in the provision of programs and services that facilitate labour market integration of this immigrant group.

As discussed earlier, devaluation of foreign work experience is one of the barriers to immigrant labour market integration, but studies like this can reduce its impact. Specifically, knowledge of the cultural model of work in Uganda will help Canadian employers interpret foreign work experience of their Ugandan candidates. It is helpful for the employers to have an idea of the Ugandan cultural view of work because it removes uncertainty and fear of the unknown that may occur when evaluating foreign applicants. Employers may be surprised to see cultural similarities or feel more prepared for dealing with cultural differences. In addition, cultural awareness humanizes immigrants and makes it easier for Canadian employers and colleagues to relate to them. For example, values of trust and hard work may be universally shared, which makes it easier for people with different cultural backgrounds to find common ground.

Knowledge of the cultural model is also useful for day-to-day management at the workplace, including performance evaluation, problem resolution, and decision-making. For example, a manager who is unaware of the meaning of respect for authority in a Ugandan culture may perceive a Ugandan employee who does not speak up during meetings as lacking initiative or low in motivation. Whereas, in reality, the employee may have been reserved out of respect for the manager. Naturally, it would be unrealistic to expect Canadian employers to adjust their expectations and norms to cultural backgrounds of all their employees; however, cultural awareness and communication of respect for the cultural background of the employee will prevent alienation and create positive conditions for immigrant integration into the Canadian workplace.

The findings of this study will also be useful to employment counsellors in immigrant-serving organizations. Particularly, these findings can be used to organize discussions and programs that help newcomers reflect on potential cultural differences and ways of addressing them. For example, counsellors may want to discuss the structure of the Canadian workplace and

various resources that give power to the lower level employees in Canada (e.g., labour laws, union protection, human rights commission, and media). Other issues, like the meaning of teamwork and respect in Canada versus Uganda, need to be reflected upon in order to facilitate labour market integration of these newcomers.

Knowledge of Ugandan cultural model of work can also help set expectations and boundaries between the counsellor and the client. Namely, counsellors may need to explicitly articulate that, despite the presence of interpersonal relations between them and their clients, the clients should not expect counsellors to go beyond their formal duties in helping them with obtaining employment. Finally, knowledge of the cultural background of their Ugandan clients may help counsellors recognize their strengths and relate these strengths to potential employers. For example, due to the values of obedience and respect for authority, Ugandan workers may be more efficient in work environments that require obedience and following instructions, than workers from cultures where these values are less prominent.

When applying findings of this study, it is important to keep in mind that culture does not determine human behavior and each individual is an agentic being who actively transforms and interprets cultural knowledge in agreement with personal experience and goals. Therefore, it would be unjustified to homogenize all Ugandans by assuming they are all equally obedient or fearful of authority. Instead, knowledge of their cultural model of work should be viewed as another tool that can help understand the behavior of a particular individual. In this respect, it is important to investigate how cultural models are internalized and idiosyncratically experienced by people with different personal characteristics.

5.3. Reflection on the Theory of Cultural Models and Methodology.

The current study was theoretically and methodologically innovative in many ways: first, it was based on a still forming theory of cultural models, second, it utilized person-centered interviewing, and third, it applied a novel method of linguistic data analysis. Because testing the value and appropriateness of this approach to studying culture was one of my research goals, it is necessary to reflect on the theory and methodology employed in this study.

5.3.1. Theory of Cultural Models

The theory of cultural models proved to be suitable for cultural research on immigrants because it explains the nature of the phenomenon (i.e., cultural model of work), describes its structural components and interrelations, explains the mechanism through which culture regulates human behavior, and is methodologically valuable for planning and conducting research.

First, recognition of the intentional nature of cultural models and distinction between their private and public aspects allows researchers to set achievable and clear research goals. Researchers, who are interested in collectively shared knowledge and practices (e.g., anthropologists, ethnographers, sociologists), may focus on the public aspect of the model; and researchers, who are interested in the way cultural models exist at an individual level (e.g., psychologists) may focus on the private aspect of the cultural models. But a full picture of socio-cultural regulation of human behaviour can only be gained by addressing both aspects.

Second, delineation of structural components of cultural models allows researchers to develop a comprehensive set of questions that would generate relevant data and maximize the value of participants' and researcher's time. The conceptual distinction between different components also helps represent cultural models in a structured way and is useful for comparison of different models within one culture and of the same model between different cultures. For example, a researcher may investigate a cultural model of work in Canada and conduct a comparative analysis of Ugandan and Canadian cultural models. Because the structure of both models will be similar (e.g., each will have values, practices, concepts, and structure along vertical and horizontal dimensions), such analysis will produce reliable results.

Third, the recognition of intersubjective nature of the cultural models informs participant selection and data analysis procedures. Recognition of intersubjectivity of cultural models allows for purposeful selection of participants that can adequately answer the research questions of a particular study. A researcher that studies a certain aspect of culture is no longer forced to waste valuable resources by blindly recruiting everyone who is willing to participate. Instead, the researcher is able to make the best use of resources and avoid collecting volumes of unusable data. Recognition of intersubjectivity also informs data analysis: a researcher, who aims to

discover public aspects, will conduct within- and between-case analyses, while a researcher, who focuses on the private aspect of the model, will focus on the within-case analysis, given that the data on the public aspect of the model is already available. Lastly, knowledge of intersubjective nature of cultural models allows researchers to make founded conclusions about the limitations of a particular study, based on the characteristics of recruited sample.

Fourth, understanding that cultural models are taken-for-granted allows the researcher to reduce the effect of social desirability bias and increase the validity of research results. Awareness of taken-for-grantedness motivates researcher to look beyond what a particular participant is saying and recognize that even socially desirable answers may provide valid insight into the cultural model of interest. For example, a participant may want to present his boss in a positive light by saying: *"he was very good, he even joined us for lunch and gave us bonuses"*, regardless of whether this actually happened, the researcher can infer that it may be abnormal for the boss to join subordinates for lunch, and that money may be a motivating factor in this cultural model.

The current study also allowed the researcher to refine the theory of cultural models. It appeared that the most conceptually useful structural components of the model are concepts and categories, values, regulatory mechanisms, and repertoire of behaviors. The categories of 'system of meanings' and 'moral codes' were not conceptually useful in describing the cultural model of work in Uganda due to their broadness. In addition, the five structural components were thought to make up the structure of the cultural model, which would mean that all models would have the same structure consisting of these five components. Instead, it is more likely that cultural models have different structures (e.g., linear, bi-dimensional, circular) and at least four components are present in each dimension of the model (i.e., concepts and categories, values, regulatory mechanisms, and repertoire of behaviors). Also, this study suggests that motivation is not a structural component of cultural models, but rather their property.

5.3.2. Person-centered interviewing

Person-centered interviewing was a beneficial approach to data generation because it produced a sufficient volume of relevant data from a limited number of participants. The

decision to have two interviews with each participant was justified because it allowed me to establish rapport with participants, and compensate for disadvantages of being an outsider.

Both informant and respondent perspectives were valuable. Aside from revealing collectively shared cultural knowledge and practices, informant perspective proved to be useful for situating a particular participant as a typical or atypical member of their community (i.e., by asking how common a certain experience or view is in the community). This may be especially helpful to researchers in the position of an outsider.

The limitation of the informant perspective stems from the fact that individuals typically have limited experience in a given area. For example, some participants in this study had not worked in a team and felt unable to comment on the relationship between peers. In addition, participants may not feel in the position to comment on thoughts and feelings of their community members because they lack authority on the matter and do not want to misguide the researcher with biased opinions and observations. This is a valid concern, which points to the need for a careful selection of informants; such individuals need to have diverse experience and be motivated to give a truthful account of their observations.

Interviewing from respondent perspective was especially useful to elicit reasoning by asking "why" questions. In fact, the technique of asking a series of "why" questions in many instances allowed me to reach the taken-for-granted cultural assumptions that I was searching for, even prior to inferential data analysis. This means that a skilled interviewer may help participants analyze their own culture and make the process of data analysis easier. For example, one of my inferences that power is one of the terminal values in the cultural model was explicitly supported by one participant, who came to the same conclusion after being asked several "why" questions.

Contrary to what was originally thought, both informant and respondent perspectives provide information on the public aspect of the model because, even when participants are talking about personal experiences, they still may rely on the collective system of cultural knowledge (i.e. the public aspect). Informant and respondent perspectives complement each other well because, when individuals lack personal experience, they can rely on their observations and vice versa. However, the perspective of an informant may not be useful to

researchers who are interested solely in the private aspect of the model, unless they are in a position of an outsider.

5.3.3. Linguistic Data Analysis

Linguistic data analysis employed in this study was methodologically appropriate because it utilized inferential analysis that was built around the theory of cultural models. For studies of cultural models from an emic perspective, the inferential analysis is superior to the thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) because it is based on the premise that individuals construct their speech from mental schemas that were internalized from the public aspect of the cultural model. Therefore, to describe the public aspect of the model, a researcher needs to first infer the internalized cognitive schemas from the participants' speech. Thematic analysis is unable to do that because it only produces summaries of what participants were saying and disregards cognitive schemas that were used to construct the speech in the first place. Thus, thematic analysis is only appropriate in cases when researchers adopt an etic perspective and aim to provide a description of cultural practices.

Linguistic data analysis was effective because it allowed me to produce verifiable findings. That is, because the analysis was systematic and uniform across all cases, every inference about the public aspect of the model that I made can be traced back to the participant's words and either confirmed or disputed.

The decision to triangulate by analyzing several linguistic forms was beneficial for this study due to limited resources that did not allow to gather a large amount of data. In cases where a researcher has access to more participants and has the time to generate more data with each participant, I would recommend leaving out analysis of metaphors and analyzing only reasoning, keywords, and descriptions of behaviors. The reason for this recommendation is that assumptions that lie behind reasoning and metaphors usually overlap, so analysis of both linguistic forms will be redundant. In addition, when the language in which the interviews are conducted is not a native language of the participants (as was in this study), it cannot be claimed with certainty that the use of certain metaphors is indicative of the underlying cultural model under investigation.

I would not recommend studying cultural models solely on the basis of analysis of descriptions of behaviors because of the value of inferential analysis used to analyze reasoning

and metaphors. Specifically, analysis of these linguistic forms allowed me to uncover not only the content of the model in form of basic assumptions (e.g., "one should not question authority") but also the relationships between different components of the model (e.g., "education leads to higher status jobs").

The data analysis used in this study is cognitively demanding; therefore, researchers who plan to use it, need to carefully plan the number of cases they will able to analyze in a given amount of time. In this study, it took me approximately 6 days to analyze one case that was comprised of approximately 2 hours of conversation (excluding the time needed for transcription). It should be noted that participants vary in their expressivity and communication style, which means some cases require more cognitive effort and time than others.

5.4. Limitations of the Current Study

There are several limitations to the current study.

The first source of limitations is the composition of the sample. Considering the fact that over 80% of Uganda's population lives in rural areas and more than a third of the population is employed in the agricultural sector, the sample of urban highly educated individuals who have worked for large organizations is not representative of the majority of Ugandans. Further, individuals who choose to immigrate may already differ from their compatriots on the very characteristics that made them immigrate. This means, the findings of this study may reflect only a portion of the public aspect of the cultural model (more likely the progressive portion), which may not be accessible in its entirety to individuals living in rural areas and to non-immigrants. To address this limitation, research needs to be done with individuals from rural areas of Uganda and non-immigrants, who have access to other portions of the public aspect of the model.

The second source of limitations is the resources available for this study, namely time and money. Constrained resources did not allow me to recruit 10 participants, as was planned, and limited my time with each recruited participant to two hour-long interviews. As result, the hypothesized public aspect of the cultural model may represent only a fraction of the actual public aspect of the model. Horizontal dimension was least explored among the three. Similarly, I was not able to explore practices and communication styles in more detail; although, it can be argued that these aspects of culture are best explored through observation, and not interview. To

address this limitation, researchers need to strive to recruit participants that fully satisfy purposeful selection criteria and allocate more time for interviews.

The third source of limitations is my position as an outsider. Due to lack of exposure to Ugandan culture, I might have failed to ask questions that would reveal important aspects of the model. Further, I may have misinterpreted the intended meaning of what participants were trying to convey. To address this limitation, a similar study may need to be conducted by an insider or an outsider with experience living in Uganda. Also, this limitation can be addressed by testing the hypothesized cultural model in subsequent research projects. In the future, it may be recommended to build a team that would include outsider and insider researchers.

The fourth source of limitations is the method of data analysis used in the study. Due to time constraints, each case was analyzed right after another, so it is possible that fatigue had an effect on the quality of analysis. That is, it may have been possible to extract more information from the given data. I tried to address this limitation by going over the results of each case at least twice at different times and took frequent breaks. In addition, interrater reliability on linguistic coding was not conducted due to time constraints, so the reliability of linguistic coding is unknown. To address this limitation, inter-rater reliability needs to be conducted in other studies.

5.5. Directions for Further Research

There are three directions of future research that may build on or expand the results of the current study.

The first direction is to empirically test the hypothesis of the cultural model that emerged in this study. This can be done through focus groups, additional interviews, questionnaire surveys, naturalistic and participant observations, experiments and extended field work in Uganda. Through all these methods, a researcher should seek a verification and falsification of the conclusions reached in this study.

The second direction is to expand the model by collecting more data from diverse samples of participants and through other methods, such as observation. As noted earlier, some topics for potential exploration were outlined at the final stages of between-case data analysis.

The following assumptions were supported by 4 or 3 cases, hence were not included in the hypothesized model, but may potentially constitute its public aspect:

1. Individuals at the same level should be equally treated by an authority figure. Unequal treatment by an authority figure destroys feelings of belongingness.
2. An ideal leader/boss invests in the success of his followers/subordinates.
3. Leaders is a role model, who teaches subordinates and leads by example.
4. Individual differences cause conflict and need to be removed for group cohesion.
5. Becoming self-sufficient (self-employed) is an ultimate goal in one's career.
6. Success is being independent and able to provide for oneself and one's family.
7. Successful people make good investments. Good investments are investments in business, property, and education.
8. The possibility of being evaluated as worse than another person of the same status is threatening.
9. Women have physical limitations that prevent them from doing certain jobs.

Researchers may choose to explore these assumptions further by asking questions and collecting observations that seek to test them.

Finally, the third direction of research may address the issue of cultural differences between Canada and Uganda. This can be done by conducting a comparative study of Canadian and Ugandan cultural models of work. Such research will inform the problem of unemployment and low wages among immigrants in Canada by outlining cultural differences and similarities.

5.6. Conclusion

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the public aspect of the cultural model of work among Ugandan immigrants. This goal was achieved, and the public aspect of the cultural model of work in Uganda was outlined.

The second purpose of this study was to refine the methodology of extracting cultural models through interviews and to elaborate particular techniques of interviewing and interview analysis that will allow for the articulation of these models. This goal was achieved, as a strategy for person-centered interviewing was tested and refined and a method of linguistic data analysis was adapted.

The third purpose of the study was to refine and test the robustness of the theory of cultural models. This goal was achieved, as the strengths of the theory of cultural models were demonstrated and the weaknesses were addressed.

By applying the theory of cultural models, person-centered interviewing, and linguistic data analysis, I was able to articulate a hypothesis of Ugandan cultural model of work, which needs to be empirically tested, refined, and expanded in future studies. Although the hypothesized public aspect of the model represent a relatively stable set of cultural knowledge that individuals use to guide their workplace behavior, the content of this model can be expected to change as Ugandan society undergoes economic, political, technological, environmental, and social changes. Nevertheless, the results of this study inform the problem of immigrant integration into the Canadian labour market by providing information that can help demystify foreign work experience, facilitate management process, increase cultural awareness, and improve service provision to immigrants from Uganda. This study is equally valuable from theoretical and methodological standpoints; scholars, who aim to investigate the cultural diversity of the world, are encouraged to make use of the methodological value of the theory of cultural models.

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Appendix A: Definition of Terms

Coding:

Descriptive coding - assigning labels to data that summarize in a word or short phrase the basic topic of a passage of qualitative data (Miles et al., 2010, Kindle location 2349-50).

Cultural model of work - publicly available cultural forms and conventional schemas that members of a cultural community consciously and unconsciously use in the process of social interaction at the workplace.

Employment – any work at a job or business, that is, paid work in the context of an employer-employee relationship, or self-employment. It also includes unpaid family work, which is defined as unpaid work contributing directly to the operation of a farm, business or professional practice owned and operated by a related member of the same household (Statistics Canada, 2015c).

Ethnic group is a group of people who have (1) a collective name, (2) similar physical, physiognomic and biological (racial) features, (3) shared beliefs in their common decent, (4) a sense of common history, (5) a distinctive shared culture (including language and religion), (6) an association with a specific territory, and (7) a sense of identity and solidarity" (Chirkov, 2013, p. 45).

Human capital - investments in education and the acquisition of job experience and skills that can generate returns in the labour market (Nee & Sanders, 2001).

Immigrant – a person who has settled permanently in another country (CCR, 2010).

Recent immigrants - those who had been permanent residents from 5 to 10 years. (Yssaad, 2012).

Informant – "someone knowledgeable about local custom and behavior" (Hollan, 2005, p. 463).

Network display of data – a collection of nodes or points connected by links or lines that display streams of participant actions, events, and processes (Miles et al., 2013, Kindle location 3158).

Permanent residents – people who have been granted permanent resident status in Canada. Permanent residents must live in Canada for at least 730 days (two years) within a five-year period or risk losing their status. Permanent residents have all the rights guaranteed under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms such as equality rights, legal rights, and mobility rights, freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom of association; they do not, however, have the right to vote in elections (CIC, 2015a).

Refugee - someone who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside

the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (UNHCR, n.d.).

Respondent - "an object of systematic study and observation in him- or herself" (Hollan, 2005, p. 463).

Schema - a cognitive structure that guides cognitive processes, emotions, and behaviors of individuals (S. Fiske, 2004).

Unemployment - a state of being a person, who at the moment of inquiry:

a. [was] on temporary layoff during the reference week with an expectation of recall and were available for work, or
b. [was] without work, had looked for work in the past four weeks, and were available for work, or
c. had a new job to start within four weeks from reference week, and were available for work (Statistics Canada, 2015).

Underemployment – a state of being employed in a position that is below one's skill level (being overqualified for the current job).

Visible minority – individuals who are non-Caucasian in race, non-white in colour, and not Aboriginal (Statistics Canada, 2013).

Work – an organized activity, such as job, that individuals regularly preform in exchange for money or other form of compensation.

Appendix B: Structural Components of the Cultural Model and Related Interview Questions

Conceptual Definition of Structural Components of the Cultural Model	Interview Questions
Conceptual systems: concepts and categories through which people experience, understand, and describe the domain of employment, and its relationship to other domains of life (e.g. family).	11. When people hire workers, what qualities are they looking for? 14. What are the most/least respected occupations in your country? 16. What qualities are important for a good boss/manager?
Moral codes and values: socially desirable goals and behaviors at the workplace.	11. When people hire workers, what qualities are they looking for? 12. What does success mean for people in Uganda? 13. How do people become successful at work? How do people in your country become unsuccessful at work? 16. What qualities are important for a good boss/manager? What would be an ideal boss in a Ugandan setting? 17. What would be considered a bad boss in Uganda?
Systems of meaning: conventional ways of interpreting the physical and social aspects of employment (reasoning about work that reveals connections between the other components of the model).	14. What do people in your country say about those who works in respected occupations? 19. Emotionally, how is the work supposed to make one feel? What positive emotions do people expect to experience from their work? 21. What do people say about a man/woman who is not working? 23. What are the differences in the way your and your parents' generation look at work? *Follow up questions:* Why? - How can you explain this?
Behavioral repertoires: conventional sets of behaviors, including social roles, in the workplace.	1. Where did you work in Uganda? What position did you occupy? 2. How did you find this job? Is it common for people in Uganda to find a job this way? 3. What was a typical day at work for you? 4. During lunch or breaks, what did you and your coworkers usually talk about? 5. Was it a team work or an individual position? How did you divide the job? 15. What do bosses typically do? What would be typical behaviors expected from a boss in a Ugandan setting?

	20. If people are unhappy at work, or are dissatisfied with something, what would they do? How do they express it?
Regulatory mechanisms: work-related norms and forms of punishment and reward for dissenting from these norms.	6. What are the behaviors at work that coworkers liked in each other? 7. What are the behaviors that coworkers disliked in each other/that were frowned upon? 8. What were common causes of conflict between co-workers? 9. What did you do if there was a conflict? 10. If a person was not working very well, what did other people say or do about this person? 18. How does the boss deal with a conflict? 21. What do people say about a man/woman who is not working? 22. Is there a difference in the way men and women relate to each other at the workplace?

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

Researcher name:

Date:

Location:

Start time:

Recording device used:

Demographic Questions

1. Where were you born and raised?
2. When did you come to Canada?
3. How old are you?
4. What tribe do you belong to?
5. What languages do you speak?
6. What do you do in Canada?

Main Questions

<u>General work arrangements:</u>

1. Where did you work in Uganda? What position did you occupy?
2. How did you find this job? Is it common for people in Uganda to find a job this way?
3. What was a typical day at work for you?
4. During lunch or breaks, what did you and your coworkers usually talk about?

<u>Horizontal relations:</u>

5. Was it a team work or an individual position? How did you divide the job?
6. What are the behaviors at work that coworkers liked in each other?
7. What are the behaviors that coworkers did not like in each other/that were frowned upon?
8. What were common causes of conflict between co-workers?
9. What did you do if there was a conflict?
10. If a person was not working very well, what did other people say or do about this person?

<u>Values:</u>

11. When people hire workers, what qualities are they looking for?
12. What does success mean for people in Uganda?

13. How do people become successful at work? How do people in your country become unsuccessful at work?
14. What are the most/least respected occupations in your country? What do people in your country say about those who works in respected occupations?

    Vertical relations:
15. What do bosses typically do? What would be typical behaviors expected from a boss in a Ugandan setting?
16. What qualities are important for a good boss/manager? What would be an ideal boss in a Ugandan setting?
17. What would be considered a bad boss in Uganda?
18. How does the boss deal with a conflict?

    Work motivation and emotions
19. Emotionally, how is the work supposed to make one feel? What positive emotions do people expect to experience from their work?
20. If people are unhappy at work or are dissatisfied with something, what would they do? How do they express it?

    Gender questions:
21. What do people say about a man/woman who is not working?
22. Is there a difference in the way men and women relate to each other at the workplace?

    Cultural change:
23. What are the differences in the way your and your parents' generation look at work?

Probing Questions

- Is it common in your community to…? - What about other people in Uganda…? - Tell me more about this; - Could you, clarify; - Can you provide an example of … - Why? - How can you explain this? - What about you?

End time:

Appendix D: Results of the First Step of Within-Case Analysis (Excerpt)

Code Name	Coded Segments
Descriptions of behaviors	My first job, basically my professor. I was taking a class at the university and he just liked my enthusiasm, and then he told me there's a project …. that was looking to employ someone to work with them. So then the person was in town, they interviewed me and they offered me the job, basically before I finished.
Descriptions of behaviors	The second one really was from a relative, who saw I was looking for a job, and he said, well there is a job here, which is really below you, but it could keep you busy.
Descriptions of behaviors	And I've gone back to tell him I was looking for work, so then they were hiring four people as research assistants, still it was through networking.
Keywords	Education
Keywords	education
Keywords	education
Keywords	Respect
Keywords	Respect
Metaphors	which is really below you
Metaphors	something low level
Metaphors	higher level job
Reasoning	Just knowing someone is not enough. Like I'm saying for certain jobs, it's just that your connections are not going to get you through, however much you try, it's not going to get you the job. It might get you to the interview, but there will be people who will oppose, because of this candidate... you have to be able to explain. So if you want to put your candidate through, they had better be educated and have the experience.
Reasoning	Respect, sometimes you find someone doesn't follow company procedures or they flouted the company procedure... I remember a case I heard that there was a candidate who did not get a job because, they were good, but they flouted company procedure. And so it was like, oh well, they bent the rules - that's not good. Although they are very good, you get it? So the person who came in second during the interview, got the job.

Appendix E. Within-Case Analysis of Metaphors

Themes			
1. Hierarchy	**2.Belongingness**	**3. In-group dynamics**	**4. Meaning of work**
there is a lot of tape to reach up to him/there is all that tail. reach up to this person chain of command lift them from the poor background	create that network around	sends away the small conversation you have cover up for you not to leak organizational information to the rival organizations sideline that person these are our differences and then if you can iron them out be open to them	entrenched in small scale business small low paying/big jobs/positions/offices lower/middle class jobs/positions
Assumptions			
1. Power is hierarchically distributed in the workplace. 2. Orders come from higher levels and are communicated to lower levels 3. Problems are communicated from lower to higher levels of hierarchy; the levels cannot be skipped 4. Boss has the highest place in the hierarchy. 5. Other people help one to move from lower to higher levels of social hierarchy. 6. Individuals with lower status have less resources than those with higher status (e.g. education, money).	1. Individuals in the society are connected through their relationships with each other	1. Members of one group should protect each other 2. There is a communication barrier between boss and subordinates. 3. The boss has the power to remove that communication barrier. 4. Coworkers can exclude their peers from the group. 5. Individuals differences cause conflict. Individual differences need to be removed. 6. When individuals belong to a group, they should not share information with other groups. 7. A person at a workplace has the need to belong to the group of coworkers	1. It is difficult to obtain a higher social status. 2. Occupations are associated with different social statuses. 3. Some jobs give more power than others. 4. Jobs that bring power and social status are in the offices and are professional. 5. The level of job is determined by the amount of money it brings.

Appendix F: Within-Case Matrix (Excerpt)

Assumptions grouped by themes			Keywords	Practices grouped by themes		
1. Vertial relations: Hierarchy	**2. Horizontal relations**	**3. Leader/Boss**		**Hiring**	**Problem Solving**	**Work Arrangements**
People in authority move others from one level of social hierarchy to another (one should not promote oneself).	When people belong to one group/have good relationship they care about each other's needs and prioritize them over those of the company.	Authority is demonstrated through phsyical separation from people of lower status.	boss (54)	The second one really was from a relative, who saw I was looking for a job, and he said, well there is a job here, which is really below you, but it could keep you busy	I resigned from my first job because I was dissatisfied, that's another way	There are meetings. There were weekly meetings, were we reported what we were doing, and then also planning meetings, yeah
Individuals of equal status have a similar workpload and do not have authority over one another.	There are formal ways of demonstrating belonginess and commitment to the community.	An ideal leader cares about his workers' personal needs and circumstances	respect (46)	But if it's a higher level job, then you are going to be interviewed, and sometimes you are interviewed through a screening process, we had the, not a screening, third person interview.	you could, for example, go and report to human resources department, or go and tell another worker that I am not happy.	So work planning was a big aspect, and at the beginning of every year there was an annual work planning.

Appendix G: Results of Between-Case Analysis: Between-Case Matrix (Excerpt).

Theme	Assumptions Supported by Number of Cases		
	7 cases	**6 cases**	**5 cases**
Vertical Structure: Power & Authority	Workplace is vertically structured. Power is unevenly distributed in the workplace hierarchy, with people (i.e. the boss) at the highest level having the most amount of power, and those at the lowest levels having the least amount. People have different statuses in this hierarchy; one's status is determined by the amount of power they have over others in the society.	Authority comes from having better education, experience, or unique skills.	Older age gives authority over others.
	People with higher status have authority over those with lower status. Coworkers that have the same status do not have authority over one another.	Authority is exercised through giving orders, making decisions, and to expressing own views freely.	
	Individuals can move between different levels of hierarchy. People in power help or prevent you from moving from one level of social hierarchy to another. In order to more from one level of society to another, one needs to have relationships (connections) with people in power (at the workplace employees have different amount of power depending on their relationship with the boss).		
	The information either from bottom up or top down should pass through each level of the hierarchy, without skipping them. Hierarchy at the workplace creates a barrier to communication between people at different levels of the hierarchy (e.g. boss and the subordinates).		
	Individual's authority can be diminished, therefore it should be demonstrated by the individuals who have it and acknowledge by those who don't. Authority is demonstrated through specific communication, behavioral patterns, and appearance. Authority is acknowledged through obedience and respect.		

Theme	Practices	Keywords
Hiring & Job Search	Lower level jobs are typically found through networks of friends and relatives or through direct inquiries. A potential applicant applies for a job in-person. Formal applications are not made and interviews are not conducted. The boss/manager typically has a conversation with the potential applicant. Proof of professional qualifications is not required. Candidate demonstrates skills during a probationary period. Higher level jobs are typically obtained through formal application process, proof of skills is required, recommendation letters are provided, interviews are held. Public service jobs may involve sitting an exam. Nepotism and tribalism is present at all levels of the workplace hierarchy.	**7 cases:** boss (228) money (200) education (151) respect (145) family (133)
Workplace Environment	Vacation is not always included in the contract; many people work without formal vacations and leaves. Boss can summon workers on weekends, ask to work late hours without formal compensation for overtime. In the government, salaries are fixed, absenteeism is frequent because the control is lacking. In the private sector some workers are paid by the amount of work done, others have fixed salaries controlled by the boss. Safety regulations and procedures are not strictly enforced. Many people have more than one job. Public jobs are sought after because of financial security and flexibility. Low status jobs: boda drivers (motorcycle taxi), taxi drivers, street vendors, marketplace vendors, nannies, housekeepers, farmers, physical labourers. These jobs typically do not require formal training and may be called unprofessional jobs. Middle level jobs: office clerk, teacher, veterinarian, vendors in a department store. Higher status jobs: engineer, medical doctors, lawyers, university professors, management positions. Referred to as professional jobs, require higher education. Universities, large corporations and international organizations are more formalized than other workplaces. Work schedules are affected by unpredictable conditions, such as weather, traffic, lack of structure and formalized procedures in many sectors of economy. Formal behaviors: dressing formally, neat appearance, addressing seniors by their title or using Sir/Madam, following formal procedures, avoiding familiarity, proper manners. Informal behaviors: casual clothes, untidy appearance, cursing, shouting at others.	**6 cases:** comfortable (39) hard work (34) **5 cases:** fear (29) office job (49) trust (36) professional (17) **4 cases:** survival (23) power (30) security/safety (17) formal (40) street job (8)
Roles & Procedures	Roles: The boss or managers assigns tasks and gives instructions to each employee. Responsibilities are typically divided among coworkers, so that each knows their part. Men do physically demanding tasks and women do lighter tasks. Men are typically in charge, however in urban areas women do hold leadership positions. Women in polygamous families depend on their husbands to provide for them and their children; some of them may engage in small scale subsistence farming or retail business. Procedures: Meetings are held to plan activities, discuss problems, and current issues. Individuals in lower levels produce reports to those in higher levels. Although there is a fixed time schedule, it is not always strictly enforced: lunch may occur at different times. Time perception is polychromic. Depending on the job, deadlines may be more or less defined. In international organizations deadlines are more formal and strict. In local organizations deadlines may be negotiated and adjusted. Companies may have a formal set of rules that guide every aspect of workplace behavior. For urban working women: childcare and housework is typically done by maids.	

Appendix H: Results of Between-Case Analysis: Shared Assumptions

Theme	Assumptions Supported by Number of Cases		
	7 cases	**6 cases**	**5 cases**
Vertical Structure: Power & Authority	1. Workplace is vertically structured. Power is unevenly distributed in the workplace hierarchy, with people at the highest level having the most amount of power, and those at the lowest levels having the least amount. People have different statuses in this hierarchy; one's status is determined by the amount of power they have over others in the society.	6. Authority is exercised through giving orders and making decisions.	8. Older age gives authority over others.
	2. People with higher status have authority over those with lower status. Coworkers that have the same status do not have authority over one another.	7. Authority comes from having better education, experience, or unique skills.	
	3. Individuals can move between different levels of hierarchy. People in power help or prevent you from moving from one level of the social hierarchy to another. In order to more from one level of society to another, one needs to have relationships with people in power. Employees have a different amount of power depending on their relationship with the boss.		
	4. The information either from bottom up or top down should pass through each level of the hierarchy, without skipping them. The hierarchy at the workplace creates a barrier to communication between people at different levels of the hierarchy.		
	5. Individual's authority can be diminished, therefore it should be demonstrated by the individuals who have it and acknowledge by those who do not. Authority is demonstrated through specific communication, behavioral patterns, and appearance. Authority is acknowledged through obedience and respect.		

Boss & Vertical Relations	**7 cases**	**6 cases**
	1. Due to status differences, the boss has control over the nature of his relationships with subordinates. The quality of such relationship depends on the quality of communication between the boss and his subordinates. Boss is responsible for establishing communication channels with the subordinates. Open and secure communication channels allow subordinates to express their thoughts, feelings, and concerns to the boss, thus making them feel more comfortable and allowing for conflict resolution and problem solving. When appropriate communication channels have not been established by the boss, inability to communicate leads to the feelings of powerlessness and anger and forces the employees to express their dissatisfaction covertly.	6. Having interpersonal relations with the boss allows for more open communication and improves motivation. Boss establishes interpersonal relationships by getting to know their background and immediate social network, being emotionally available and sensitive to their needs.
	2. Boss has the highest place in the workplace hierarchy. The power that the boss holds gives him authority over the subordinates. The difference in status between the boss and subordinates should be preserved in order for the boss to keep authority and to be able to control others; so there is a limit to which boss can have interpersonal relationships with the subordinate. Boss demonstrates authority through communication style and non-verbal behaviors.	7. The boss makes decisions and finalizes them. The boss gives instructions, divides responsibilities, and sets goals.
	3. The boss exercises authority by giving orders and subordinates should obey these orders to acknowledge this authority and show respect.	8. The boss's needs are prioritized over those of the subordinates.
	4. The boss has control over resources, job status, and social status of the employees. The boss uses this power through the system of rewards and punishments.	9. Subordinates should not openly question skills, decisions, orders, and opinions of the boss.
	5. Boss depends on the employees for information about the operations and climate at the lower levels of the organization.	

In-group dynamics and Belongingness	**7 cases**	**6 cases**	**5 cases**
	1. Individuals in a society are connected through their relationship with each other (e.g. kinship, friendship, neighbors). One has the need to be accepted as a part of a group and to derive a feeling of belongingness. Individuals who belong to a group are loyal to one another, support each other emotionally and financially, and take care of each other's needs, invest in the group to which they belong, and prioritize its needs over the needs of other groups.	5. Members of the group should equally invest in the common goal. Workload should be equally distributed among members of the same status. Each group member is responsible solely for their part of the work. Being a team member means doing what you were assigned to do.	10. To avoid conflict and problems, formal rules should guide behavior and communicatio n of the employees.
	2. One is motivated to invest in the organization only when they have a sense of belonging to the organization (represented by the boss and coworkers). When a person does not feel belongingness, they pursue their own interests/goals.	6. Individuals in authority (e.g. those who have access to resources, older people) should help others from their groups to advance their careers.	
	3. A boss can create a feeling of belonging by caring about the workers' needs and work conditions and acknowledging their contribution through rewards and establishing interpersonal relations with them.	7. Communication is an indicator of the quality of the relationships between peers. Lack of communication between peers signifies problems/conflict.	
	4. One prefers to help others from their social networks with their employment needs.	8. Individuals have family responsibilities that affect their work performance.	
		9. Coworkers at the same level should not present themselves as better than other members of the group.	

	7 cases	**6 cases**	**5 cases**
Status of Work	1. Work is a means of earning money needed to sustain livelihood. Low level jobs are means to survive. High level jobs are means to earn money and achieve higher social status. The more money the job brings, the higher status it has.	6. Work is a means to fulfill one's family responsibilities by providing for one's family.	9. Every normal person has to work. A person who does not work is either lazy or a criminal.
	2. What one does for work defines who they are and their status in the society. Each occupation is evaluated on the basis of the behaviors and work conditions it entails and on the basis of people one will be associating with. One's occupation is a source of pride and self-worth.	7. Employee's performance is influenced by their family responsibilities and uncontrollable factors (e.g. traffic); therefore, it has to be evaluated in the context of the environment.	10. Job is something that brings money and it is meant to be an activity that is done outside of one's home. Good jobs (office jobs) are found in the city.
	3. There are three types of jobs: business/private sector, unprofessional jobs/street jobs/low jobs, and professional jobs/office jobs/high-level jobs. Business can be both low and high-level job, depending on the amount of income it brings.	8. Reprimand for rule violation depends on the reason for the violation. Rule violation is acceptable if there is a sufficient explanation for it (e.g., illness, death of a family member)	
	4. Low-level jobs are associated with low social status, and high-level jobs are associated with higher social status. Low-level jobs do not require education or special skills; anyone can do low-level jobs. High-level jobs require education and bring more money than low-level jobs.		
	5. Work is a means of achieving a higher status in the society and acquiring power and respect. People who work in high-status occupations deserve more respect and have more power than those working in low-status jobs.		

Success	**7 cases** 1. Success means working in a high-status job and earning high income 2. Education leads to career success.	**5 cases** 3. Luck influence one's chances of success. 4. Hard work leads to success/money is earned through hard work. 5. Obedience to authority leads to success. Failure results from a lack of respect and disobedience (e.g. questioning the old ways).	
Gender	**5 cases** 1. Men have a higher status in the workplace hierarchy than women: more authority and power. 2. A man is the main provider for the family, women's income is a supplement. Family is a priority for a woman.		
Emotions	**7 cases** 1. When the employees are unable to communicate openly with the boss, they feel anger, resentment, and bitterness.	**6 cases** 2. There is a limit to which employees can tolerate unsatisfactory work environment; when the limit is reached, the employees express negative emotions through covert aggression. 3. The boss is feared because he has control over resources, one's job status and social status at the workplace. 4. Fear of the boss is a barrier to open communication between him and subordinates. When the boss emphasizes higher status through communication and behavior, the subordinates feel threatened and avoid expressing their thoughts and feelings freely.	**5 cases** 5. One wants to feel comfortable at work, feel belongingness and no fear.

Motivation	**7 cases** 1. Fear of the boss and of losing the job is a motivator. When the employee does not derive a sense of belonging, the only motivator for them is money.	**6 cases** 2. One is motivated to invest in the company's goals when they feel a sense of ownership of its gains/when they feel personal gain from their work. 3. One is motivated when their contribution to the common goal is acknowledged by the boss through rewards. 4. Morale of the workers depends on the quality of their relationships with the boss.
Money	**7 cases** 1. Money gives power (control over one's life and others), high status, and respect. 2. The more money the job brings, the higher status the person will have. 3. Low-level jobs do not pay well.	
Trust	**6 cases** 1. Trust is established through building interpersonal relationships with another person; that is, by getting to know them and their immediate social network, which serves as a guarantee of a person's trustworthiness (good/clean name). 2. Trust is earned through dedication to work for the group's goals, to invest in it. A person who is not motivated to invest in the group cannot be trusted. 3. Trust is a basis for good relationships between individuals at the workplace.	
Education	**7 cases** 1. Education is a means to move to a higher level of society by getting a higher status job. Education brings respect. 2. Uneducated people work in low status jobs/on the streets. Educated people work in high status/office jobs.	
Respect	**7 cases** 1. To respect means to acknowledge one's authority and higher status. To gain respect one needs to gain authority. Respect is demonstrated by following orders, prioritizing the needs of a person in authority. Questioning authority is a sign of disrespect.	**5 cases** 2. Individuals at the workplace deserve different amount of respects depending on their status in the workplace hierarchy.

Appendix I: Results of Between-Case Analysis: Practices

Theme	Practices
Hiring & Job Search	Lower level jobs are typically found through networks of friends and relatives or through direct inquiries. A potential applicant applies for a job in-person. Formal applications are not made and interviews are not conducted. The boss/manager typically has a conversation with the potential applicant. Proof of professional qualifications is not required. Candidate demonstrates skills during a probationary period. Higher level jobs are typically obtained through the formal application process, proof of skills is required, recommendation letters are provided, and interviews are held. Public service jobs may involve taking an exam. Nepotism and tribalism are present at all levels of the workplace hierarchy.
Workplace Environment	Vacation is not always included in the contract; many people work without formal vacations and leaves. Boss can summon workers on weekends, ask to work late hours without formal compensation for overtime. In the government, salaries are fixed, absenteeism is frequent because the control is lacking. In the private sector, some workers are paid by the amount of work done, others have fixed salaries controlled by the boss. Safety regulations and procedures are not strictly enforced. Many people have more than one job. Public jobs are sought after because of financial security and flexibility. Low-status jobs: boda-boda drivers (motorcycle taxi), taxi drivers, street vendors, marketplace vendors, nannies, housekeepers, farmers, physical labourers. These jobs typically do not require formal training and may be called unprofessional jobs. Middle-level jobs: office clerk, teacher, veterinarian, vendors in a department store. High-status jobs: engineer, medical doctors, lawyers, university professors, management positions. Referred to as professional jobs, require higher education. Universities, large corporations, and international organizations are more formalized than other workplaces. Work schedules are affected by unpredictable conditions, such as weather, traffic, lack of structure and formalized procedures in many sectors of the economy. Formal behaviors: dressing formally, neat appearance, addressing seniors by their title or using Sir/Madam, following formal procedures, avoiding familiarity, proper manners.

	Informal behaviors: casual clothes, untidy appearance, cursing, shouting at others.
Roles & Procedures	Roles: The boss or managers assigns tasks and gives instructions to each employee. Responsibilities are typically divided among coworkers so that each knows their part. Men do physically demanding tasks and women do lighter tasks. Men are typically in charge, however, in urban areas, women do hold leadership positions. Women in polygamous families depend on their husbands to provide for them and their children; some of them may engage in small-scale subsistence farming or retail business. Procedures: Meetings are held to plan activities, discuss problems, and current issues. Individuals in lower levels produce reports to those in higher levels. Although there is a fixed time schedule, it is not always strictly enforced: lunch may occur at different times. Time perception is polychronic (i.e., time is non-linear, the pace of life is slower, interruptions, delays, changes in plans, and multitasking are normal) (Hall, 1983). Depending on the job, deadlines may be more or less defined. In international organizations, deadlines are more formal and strict. In local organizations, deadlines may be negotiated and adjusted. Companies may have a formal set of rules that guide every aspect of workplace behavior. For urban working women: childcare and housework is typically done by maids.
Boss's Behaviors	Bosses hire, promote, fire, solve problems, coordinate resources, and administer sanctions and rewards. Do not follow rules as strictly as the subordinates: may come later, enjoy privileges in the office (e.g., being served first). Those who emphasize authority may publicly criticize subordinates, physically separate themselves from the staff, make it hard to reach them by creating a bureaucratic system of communication, do not interact with subordinates directly. To foster belongingness: engage in conversations with employees, dinners, help them with school fees, ask for their input, show interest in personal problems, and try to help with that, attend ceremonies like burials, weddings, baptisms; help to arrange these ceremonies, give bonuses to show appreciation. To establish open channels of communication: make it easy for staff to approach them with concerns and ideas by creating a safe and simple system of communication (e.g., complaint boxes near the office, open door policy). Organize regular meetings to communicate one's intentions and thoughts to the staff, be transparent. Some workers prefer voicing their concerns in written form. To establish interpersonal relationships: approach workers during work hours and get to know their personal interests, family background. Be sensitive to their personal problems and offer support and financial help (e.g., salary advance), ask for their input, attend and help organize ceremonies like burials, weddings, baptisms. Give workers a chance to explain themselves in the case of a problem.

	Sanctions: reprimand, warnings, monetary penalty; reduce or cut part of the salary, termination of employment. Rewards: bonuses, time off, vacation, appreciation dinners.
Horizontal Relations	Interpersonal relationships formed by getting to know each other's interests and background; joking and teasing are acceptable behaviors. Disliked behaviors: not doing a fair share of work, not socializing with others, gossiping, reporting to the management on others, making racist and crude comments, self-promoting behaviors. Common peer support practices are revolving funds, emergency funds, help with organizing ceremonies (e.g., marriage). Peer sanctions: refusal to communicate and exclusion from informal activities.
Conflict & Problem Resolution	Expressing dissatisfaction: low motivation and dissatisfaction with management is expressed through nonverbal signals (e.g., not smiling, tone of voice), slow pace of work, low productivity, being late, absenteeism, refusal to communicate, covert aggression (gossip, opposing suggestions of the person who is disliked), sabotaging, venting to peers, resignation. In some organizations, there are formal procedures to express complaints through HR department. Dissatisfaction rarely directly expressed to the person in authority; in some cases, individuals would have a breakdown after which they are fired. Conflict Resolution: Peers may try to resolve interpersonal conflicts without involving management. Complaints are often written. The management may privately discuss the problem with involved parties. If the problem is between a subordinate and a manager, each party will be spoken to separately.
Cultural Change	Exposure to the developed world, as well as economic conditions and growing population, lead to a change in workplace practices. Competition for jobs is higher among the population that becomes increasingly more educated. Workplaces are becoming more formalized with rules and procedures that were not there before being put in place (e.g., performance reviews, vacation time incorporated into the contract). Women begin to gain independence from their spouses by engaging in small-scale sustenance businesses and taking on leadership roles. Parents become more accepting of artistic occupations. Office jobs are no longer the desired ideal for the younger generation, some of whom choose to return to their villages and start farming or other businesses (e.g., bakery). Individuals are less tied to one job and often balance between several jobs, one of which may be small scale business.